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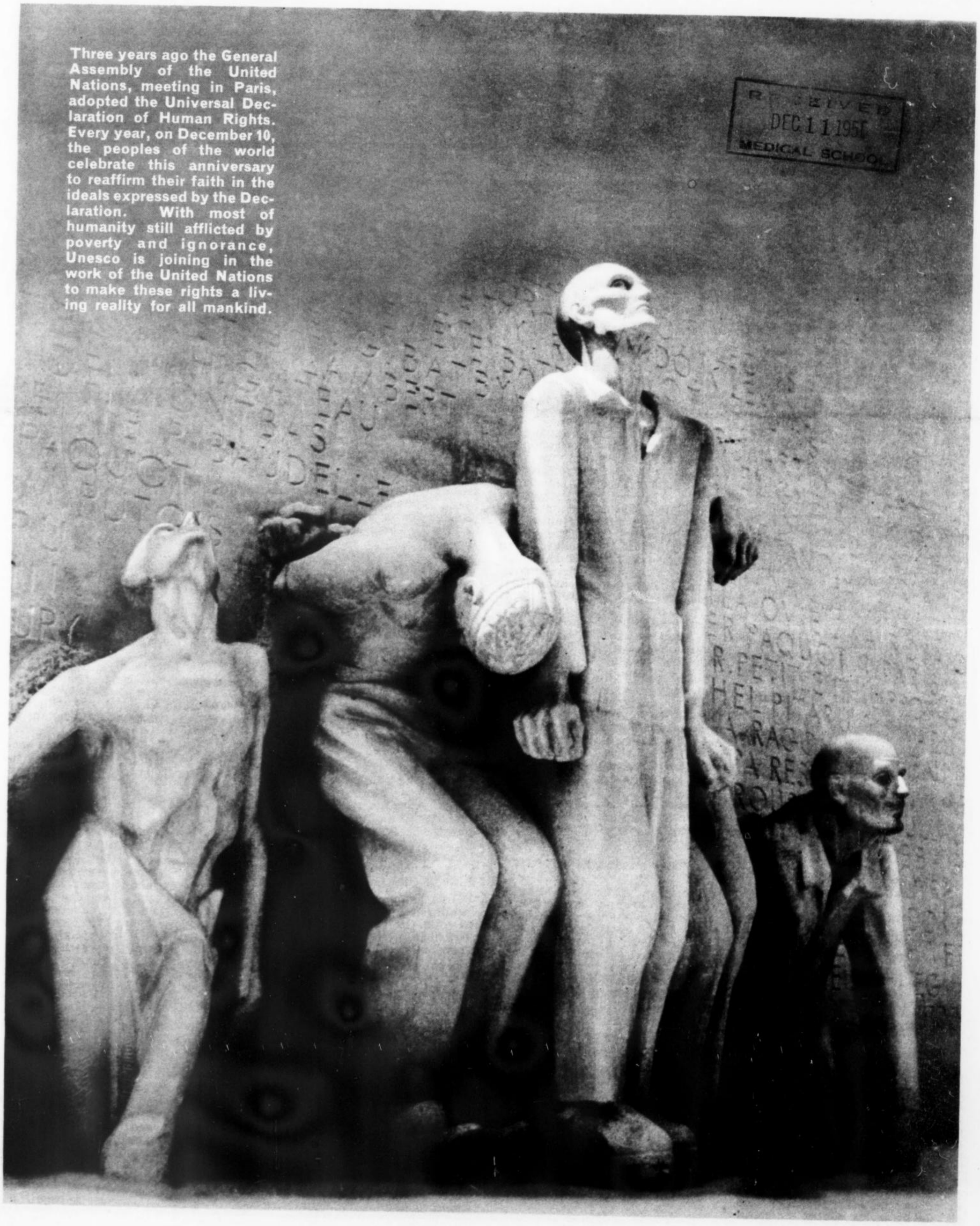
HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

Three years ago the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in Paris, adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Every year, on December 10, the peoples of the world celebrate this anniversary to reaffirm their faith in the ideals expressed by the Declaration. With most of humanity still afflicted by poverty and ignorance, Unesco is joining in the work of the United Nations to make these rights a living reality for all mankind.



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THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

by H. E. Luis Padilla Nervo

Permanent Mexican Representative to the United Nations

H. E. Ambassador Luis Padilla Nervo has made a special statement for this Human Rights issue of the Courier, which we publish below. Ambassador Padilla Nervo was elected President of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on November 6, 1951.

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THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations during its Third Session in Paris in 1948, has brought a ray of hope to all peoples. At a time in history when we all follow with anxiety the international debates on whose outcome the very issue of peace or war may well depend, the Declaration exalts the best traits and characteristics of the human person.

In this hospitable land of France, where, brought forth by a revolution, the Rights of Man were first proclaimed for all, the old and the new Declarations of Rights stand side by side, in Paris, the city where the Member States of the United Nations unanimously agreed to proclaim their firm belief in man's dignity and in the urgent need to guarantee the enjoyment of those rights to all mankind.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man born of the French Revolution inspired many peoples to incorporate in their legislation those principles whereby human beings have been protected in many respects over the last century. The United Nations also adopted several of those principles of the French Declaration of Rights into their own Universal Declaration.

Moved by a generous spirit of human understanding, the United Nations took into account the suggestions made by the representatives of their Member States and discussed at length the minimum guarantees that were to be given the human person as far as the enjoyment of rights was concerned. The result of this painstaking work was the Declaration of 1948, that stands as one of the most constructive achievements of the World Organization.

The Declaration is not a vague promise. Nor is it a document deprived of effective force. It is backed by a moral conviction which springs from the general aspirations of all men; it is also proof of the will to live in peace, within a spirit of social justice, that is common to all peoples.

By affirming the rights of the individual and appealing to governments and individuals alike to respect the principles contained therein, the Declaration emphasises the reality of the words of Benito Jaurez, the great Mexican patriot, when he said : "Peace is the respect in which one holds other people's rights". By the effective application of human rights peace will indeed become stable and certain; history shows us repeatedly that wars are the result of the abuse of the weak by the strong, of the powerless by the powerful.

The right of a person to protection against any violation of his individual guarantees is undoubtedly one of the most outstanding features of the Declaration; without such recourse against any possible abuse of authority, the exercise of human rights would have little or no foundation. The principle of no discrimination, that makes the Declaration really universal and applicable in sovereign states and non-self-governing territories alike, is also worthy of unreserved backing. Discrimination not only degrades those who are its victims, but dishonours those who practice it. By guaranteeing privacy, freedom to work, social security and education to all individuals, without distinction of race, sex, nationality or political or religious belief (giving them at the same time access to a resource which protects them against any violation of individual guarantees) the Paris Declaration fulfils the role of guardian over the essential rights of men everywhere.

The transcendent vitality of the Declaration has already been proved by the incorporation of some of its principles into the national legislation of several countries which in these last years have become politically autonomous. Such examples are proof that the Declaration, though not juridically binding for the Member States of the United Nations, has already a moral influence that, with time, can only strengthen the respect of the human person as a foundation of all social orders. Good relations betwen governments and peoples and the establishment of a fair peace in which men can work to build a free world, can also be strengthened only by enforcing the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION

by René Cassin,

Vice-Chairman of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

PERIODS of international tension do not lend themselves to the advancement of the freedoms and rights of mankind. On the one hand, rearmament and the security measures taken in the different countries inevitably lead to a restriction of liberty and act as a drag on social and educational progress. On the other hand, on an international level, the representatives of the various governments are less inclined to assume new obligations for their countries and to allow international organizations any greater "right of inspection" in matters so far regarded as purely national.

It is therefore hardly surprising that in 1951, six years after the signature of the United Nations Charter and three years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the labours devoted by the Commission on Human Rights to the Covenant and the methods of implementing it have not yet led to results that can be submitted for the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations, now in session in Paris.

The general public is justifiably uneasy at this long delay. The contrast between hopes and facts —too often harsh—is all the more keenly felt because, thanks to the United Nations information services and to the laudable efforts of Unesco, the Non-Governmental Organizations and a large number of educationists, the public has become familiar with the terms of the Universal Declaration, and now awaits the completion of the other two panels of the triptych promised to the peoples of the world.

But what the public does not know—and here it is our duty to enlighten it—is the immediate, the outstanding difficulties with which those working on the Covenant have met. In this connection, there are, as I see it, four fundamental questions.

What form of covenant ?

The first relates to the content of the future Covenant. Would it be better to have (as the British and the Americans, supported by India, suggest) a number of separate pacts, ratified independently of each other, each covering one group of related freedoms and rights (individual, civil and public freedoms; economic, social and cultural rights; family rights; political rights, etc.) ; or, as asserted by the Slav countries and certain European, Latin American and Asiatic States, to adopt a *single* Covenant, in conformity with a Declaration inspired by the unity of mankind, and thus, at one stroke, convert most of the rights and freedoms proclaimed in that Declaration into binding legal obligations?

The 1950 Assembly, in giving its instructions to the Commission on Human Rights, opted for the second of these ideas. And in the spring of 1951 the Commission prepared a draft in conformity with this ruling, taking account of a French suggestion that allowance should be made for differences in the wording of the pledges given by the various States, which should correspond to the differences in character between options of freedoms (calling for legislation involving no very great expense) and individual rights requiring State aid (such as social reforms and long-term plans backed by large-scale resources).

Both groups—the advocates of the multiple and those of the single form of Covenant—intend to raise the question again, for the purpose of wresting from the 1951 Assembly a hard-and-fast ruling in conformity with their views. We ourselves hope that the General Assembly will reject both of these extreme solutions, for the adoption of either would considerably delay the date at which our work could be brought to fruition.

Supervision of progress

The second difficulty is to decide which international organizations shall be entrusted with supervising the progress made by each State in the field of human rights, and with considering any complaints that may be made against one State or another on the ground that it has violated the Covenant.

Here we are faced with two ideas that are not easy to reconcile. The first is that the general safeguarding of human rights is a matter for the United Nations—more particularly for their Commission on Human Rights, which was set up in accordance with the Charter—and, in regard to certain of these rights, for the Specialized Agencies, like the International Labour Organization, Unesco, WHO, etc. But according to the second idea—that of equality and reciprocity between States—those signing and ratifying the Covenant would be authorized to reject all interference or supervision at the

hands of countries that refused to accept the obligations of the Covenant as binding upon themselves. Care must be taken not to alienate the most co-operative among the States by giving them reason to fear that they may become the guinea-pigs of a world-wide experiment, the continual butts of the rest.

Here again a constructive basis is offered by the draft Covenant. It vests the right of general and periodical supervision of the progress achieved in the signatory States, and even in those bound only by the Charter, in the Commission on Human Rights, whose authority would be linked and coordinated, if need be, with that of ILO, Unesco, etc. The right to deal with complaints made against a signatory State would be vested in a new body, made up of independent persons of distinction, who would be selected by the International Court of Justice from nominees proposed only by the signatory States.

Much, it is true, still remains to be done. The question arises, for instance, whether this future Committee is to be maintained at the expense of the United Nations as a whole, or only of the signatories to the Covenant. But the right path seems to have been found; as the adherents to the Covenant increase in number, the difficulties will progressively diminish.

Appeals against violations

The third crucial difficulty consists in deciding who is to be entitled to appeal to the new Human Rights Committee in the event of any violation of human rights in a given country. Should the appeal be made only by another signatory State, as desired by those governments which dislike innovations? Or should the right of petition be extended also to individuals (even against their own government) and to non-governmental organizations, such as those which have already been granted consultative status (A. or B.) by the United Nations? The importance of the point at issue can be easily perceived: either outdated procedures must be maintained, or else there must be a juridical revolution, enabling a private individual to appeal to an international body against any administrative measure, verdict or law of his own country which, in his view, violates the Covenant on Human Rights.

A certain number of States have already signified their willingness to sign a separate Protocol, granting the right of petition against themselves on a basis of reciprocity, and in accordance with a form of procedure that differs appreciably from the European Pact on Human Rights. But Uruguay has put forward another idea, which it suggests should be incorporated in the Covenant itself—that the right of appeal to the Human Rights Committee, independently of any particular State, should be granted to a United Nations Attorney-General, representing the international community. Some people consider that a transitional measure such as this would enable progress to be made, and provide an escape from the dilemma, without crossing the Rubicon at one stride!

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The fourth question consists in deciding how the Covenant is to be applied within a Federal State or Union of States which includes federated States, provinces and colonies enjoying a certain mesasure of legislative autonomy.

(Continued on page 11)

UNESCO JOINS IN UNITED NATIONS' EFFORTS TO MAKE HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARATION A LIVING REALITY

by M. Jaime Torres Bodet
Director-General of Unesco

THREE years ago, on 10 December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the first Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the history of the world. The anniversary of this historic event will certainly be celebrated with even more mark than in previous years. Not only on this day, however, but on all days, Unesco's campaign makes itself felt through books, the press, the radio, the film, exhibitions, and teaching in schools, for the purpose of disseminating the Declaration as widely as possible and making its scope and meaning known throughout the world. This year, one of the major themes has been the denunciation of racial prejudice, based on a thorough and critical study of the facts.

By seeking thus to mobilize the opinion of the world, Unesco shows that it is faithfully carrying out its obligations. With all its resources, and an increased effectiveness due to the dynamic concentration of its activities, our Organization is joining in the work of the United Nations to establish Human Rights in men's minds, as in their everyday lives.

The objectives aimed at by the Declaration are at the very centre of the mission which our Constitution has assigned to us. The world which we are trying to build through education, science and culture perceives its features in this bold outline of a community of free men, men enabled to perform in full their services to humanity. But I would like to make a rapid survey of the rights with which Unesco is more especially concerned and, in so doing, to underline the increasingly universal nature of our work. In making it universal we are, surely, practising enlightened realism, for it is by giving all human beings a worthier and fairer share in life that we shall bring about that true peace for which the world yearns — peace based on solidarity between the peoples.

In that vast column of humanity which is on the march in search of knowledge, can we reconcile ourselves to seeing the advance guard taking giant strides while half the world lags behind in a cloud of ignorance and is thus condemned to a miserable existence? This initial inequality, with all the dangers it implies, points to our most urgent duty, which is to give these masses of people the minimum of technical and civic knowledge wherewith to secure their emancipation. This as I have said more than once, is the purpose of the international enterprise in fundamental education which Unesco has launched this year, on the largest scale that its limited resources permit, bearing in mind that it may later receive help which will enable it to make the project more consonant with the immense needs it has to meet. The establishment of a centre for Latin America has opened the way to the creation, without further delay, of a world network of schools where, within the space of a few years, training will be imparted to thousands of teachers who will then be called upon, in their turn, to train future leaders in their own countries.

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THE extension of free and compulsory primary education to all children of the world still encounters too many obstacles arising from the unequal distribution of wealth between the peoples. Here, too, international co-operation must intervene decisively. The XIVth Conference on Public Education, which met this year at Geneva under the joint consonant with the immense needs it has to meet. The estab has invited governments to draw up national plans for a steady increase in school attendance, and it goes without saying that such plans will receive our full support.

For its part, the Inter-American Cultural Council has already decided, at its inaugural meeting recently held in Mexico, in which Unesco took part, to undertake a literacy and fundamental education campaign, of which it regards the universal extension of primary education as an indispensable prolongation, and it has provided for the support of this compaign a whole series of economic, civic, and trade union measures. Thus the battle against ignorance is to be waged on all fronts, with ever-increasing forces.

In the field of science and culture, Unesco's many activities are directed towards the double aim of increasing the world's inheritance of creations of the mind and sharing it out between all human beings. Research becomes a service to humanity when we so facilitate and guide it that it is brought to bear upon problems of world interest, like the development of the Arid Zone, or the tensions created by the rapid introduction of modern technical processes into countries of ancient culture.

It is important to safeguard the freedom and rights of creative artists, and we hope that our patient work in this direction will soon be crowned by the adoption of a Universal Copyright Convention. But we should be failing in our duty if we did not try to open the horizon of a liberating culture to the ever increasing multitudes. To spread among the public at large a knowledge of the scientific discoveries that are changing the face of the world, to equip libraries and museums so that they shall become centres of intellectual and artistic initiation, to disseminate reproductions of masterpieces of painting throughout the world, to help musicians and spread a knowledge of their work — such tasks as these, upon which we are now engaged, illustrate what is the keynote of our programme.

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THIS is the place to mention the planning of the future Covenant of Human Rights. It would be of outstanding significance if this legal instrument were to cover, not only civic and political freedoms, but the rights to education and a share in cultural life and the benefits of scientific advancement. States ratifying the Covenant would be undertaking clear obligations, and the difficult process of applying these rights, which Unesco has already begun but with inadequate resources, would thereby be immensely facilitated. It is our hope that the provisions dealing with these rights, which in accordance with our suggestions were accepted by the Human Rights Commission at its recent meeting, will figure in the draft Covenant when this appears upon the final agenda of the United Nations General Assembly.

The implementation of Human Rights is inseparable from access to information, which has become so essential in modern life in connexion with the spreading of knowledge and with effective freedom of expression. But information can only be spread freely and universally if all sections of humanity have the necessary material resources at their command. This emphasizes the whole gravity of the newsprint shortage which is today hampering the production of newspapers and books, and imparts urgency to the appeal launched by Unesco for immediate international action to increase the production of newsprint and distribute what exists more equitably between the various countries.

This is a threat of reaction which must be dispelled before it is possible to envisage fresh progress. In a distracted world which is apt to let its energies be diverted from work in the service of peace and humanity, circumstances all too often compel us, in many fields, to mark time. But our faith is not shaken. History will, in the end, vindicate men of goodwill, provided they persevere in their efforts and never lose that thirst for justice and magnanimity, which is another way of saying that they never lose their power to believe, dare and achieve.

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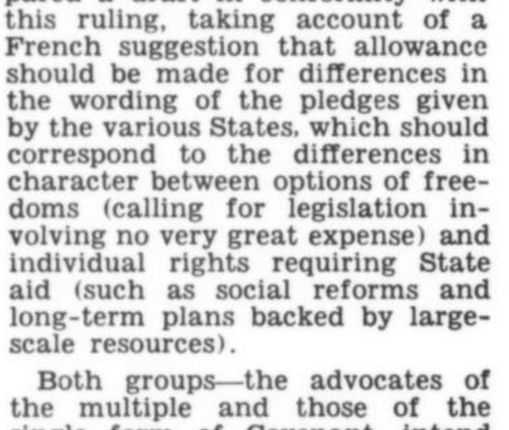

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THIS is the place to mention the planning of the future Covenant of Human Rights. It would be of outstanding significance if this legal instrument were to cover, not only civic and political freedoms, but the rights to education and a share in cultural life and the benefits of scientific advancement. States ratifying the Covenant would be undertaking clear obligations, and the difficult process of applying these rights, which Unesco has already begun but with inadequate resources, would thereby be immensely facilitated. It is our hope that the provisions dealing with these rights, which in accordance with our suggestions were accepted by the Human Rights Commission at its recent meeting, will figure in the draft Covenant when this appears upon the final agenda of the United Nations General Assembly.

The implementation of Human Rights is inseparable from access to information, which has become so essential in modern life in connexion with the spreading of knowledge and with effective freedom of expression. But information can only be spread freely and universally if all sections of humanity have the necessary material resources at their command. This emphasizes the whole gravity of the newsprint shortage which is today hampering the production of newspapers and books, and imparts urgency to the appeal launched by Unesco for immediate international action to increase the production of newsprint and distribute what exists more equitably between the various countries.

This is a threat of reaction which must be dispelled before it is possible to envisage fresh progress. In a distracted world which is apt to let its energies be diverted from work in the service of peace and humanity, circumstances all too often compel us, in many fields, to mark time. But our faith is not shaken. History will, in the end, vindicate men of goodwill, provided they persevere in their efforts and never lose that thirst for justice and magnanimity, which is another way of saying that they never lose their power to believe, dare and achieve.

NOT AN AGE OF ATOMS BUT OF WELFARE FOR ALL

by
Arnold J. Toynbee

Today we consider with pride the progress made by Man in his march from prehistoric times to the present age, and teach our children to respect the achievements of science and technology which have gradually transformed the traditional ways of human life. This is how we regard the past, but how 300 years hence will our own age be judged? What will our descendants consider the outstanding development of this century?

Arnold Toynbee, the noted British historian, has made some significant predictions on these questions in an article he wrote recently, and from which we reprint extracts by permission of the New York Times Magazine, in which the article appeared.

"Today we have tapped a wholly new kind of material resource in discovering how to harness mechanical power to technology, thus bringing the benefits of civilization within the horizon of every man's hopes". No longer, for example, need farmers fear the ravages of insect pests on their harvests when aircraft can be called on to protectively spray vast areas.

IN the contemporary world — in whatever age or century one happens to be living — religious and political differences between various sections of the living generation are apt to seem absolute and ultimate. For instance, our seventeenth century ancestors in Western Christendom could not conceive of any greater gulf than that which seemed in their day to be fixed between the Catholic and Protestant varieties of Western Christianity. By contrast, we their descendants, looking back on them and their conflicts in the perspective of three centuries of history, are far more conscious of the gulf between our own age and the world of the seventeenth century than we are of the domestic divisions within that seventeenth century world. To our eyes, those Protestants and Catholics are all alike, seventeenth-century-minded people first and foremost; and it needs some effort of discrimination on our part to appreciate the nice distinction between the warring religious camps.

In the light of this historical precedent — and there are countless others that would have served equally well to illustrate our point — we may be sure that, 300 years from today, our own descendants will be much more alive to the common features of the twentieth century world — and especially those common features that seem to them distinctive — than they will be to the current differences that mean so much at the moment to all members of the living generation, in whatever continent or camp we may happen to have been born.

Can we guess what the outstanding feature of our twentieth century will appear to be in the perspective of 300 years? No doubt we shall not all guess alike. Some of us will guess that the present age will be looked back upon as the age of scientific discovery. Others will expect to see it branded as the age in which Fascist and Communist apostates from a Christian civilization harnessed science to the service of a neo-barbarism. My own guess is that our age will be remembered chiefly neither for its horrifying crimes nor for its astonishing inventions, but for its having been the first age since the dawn of civilization, some five or six thousand years back, in which people dared to think it practicable to make the benefits of civilization available for the whole human race.

By comparison with the significance of this common twentieth century new ideal, the differences between the conflicting ideologies will — so I should guess — come to look both less important and less interesting than will be easily credible to anyone alive today. In the easy wisdom that comes after the event, our successors will, perhaps, be able to pronounce that this or that policy for achieving a common twentieth century ideal was more suitable than the rival policy was to the social conditions of this or that region in that antique and still unstandardized twentieth century world.

They may even judge one twentieth century ideology was better or worse than another in some absolute moral sense. But the common features of our century will, I fancy, be the features standing out the most prominently in perspective; and, among these, the new ideal and objective of extending the benefits of civilization to the common man will in future centuries tower above the rest.

ARTICLE 25. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Perhaps there are two points here that are worth underlining: This vision of a good life for all is a new one, and — whatever our success or our failure may be in the attempt to translate this vision into reality — this new social objective has probably come to stay. That the ideal of welfare for all is new is surely true; for, as far as I can see, it is no older than the seventeenth century West European settlements on the east coast of North America that have grown into the United States. And it has surely come to stay with us as long, at any rate, as our new invention of applying mechanical power to technology; for this sudden vast enhancement of man's ability to make non-human nature produce what man requires from her has, for the first time in history, made the ideal of welfare for all a practical objective instead of a mere utopian dream.

So long as this aim continues to be practical politics, mankind is certain, however many times we may fail, to go on making one attempt after another to reach the goal. When once the odious inequality that has hitherto been a distinguishing mark of civilization has ceased to be taken for granted as something inevitable, it becomes inhuman to go on putting up with it — and still more inhuman to try to perpetuate this inequality deliberately.

If the new material resources required in order to make practical politics of the new ideal of welfare for all had been confined forever to new agricultural resources, the dream would soon have faded away again. After the conquest of North America by the plough, the only remaining virgin soil in the Temperate Zone was Manchuria; and after the plough's conquest of Manchuria in the early twentieth century, the future of mankind, as a whole, so far from being anything like "welfare for all", would have been something like the present as it can be seen in China or India.

The reason why "welfare for all" is still practical politics in the world at large today is because we have tapped a wholly new kind of material resource in discovering how to harness mechanical power to technology. Mankind's hope of better things lies in a permanent industrial revolution.

The outlook of the twentieth century world at large is governed, as I see it, by two facts. The first fact is that three-quarters of mankind are to-day still living the traditional life of an agricultural civilization in which there is no reserve of virgin soil and therefore no possibility of providing more than a tiny minority of the population with anything better than bare subsistence out of agricultural production.

But, in this old-fashioned starveling agrarian world, the Industrial Revolution has brought with it a hope for all mankind, from the prosperous American technician and farmer to the most miserable Chinese or Indian coolie, of breaking right through the iron limits to which the extension of the benefits of civilization has normally been subject in an agricultural society.

This hope is now rapidly dawning in the hearts of the depressed and ignorant peasantry that to-day still constitutes three-quarters of the living generation of mankind. They have begun to ask themselves how they are to attain those benefits of civilization which a mechanized technology has at last brought within the horizon of every man's hopes.

How is this depressed three-quarters of mankind going to set about the stupendously difficult task of gaining the benefits of civilization? Now that the hundreds of millions of peasants are aware of the relative well-being of the Western peoples, nothing is going to stop them from setting out to reach a goal which the West seems to them to have attained already. And no doubt only trial and error are going to make them aware of the difficulties in their path which are glaringly manifest to Western eyes.

For us Westerners it is easy to see that the mass of mankind to-day does not command those assets and advantages which have enabled a Western minority within the last two centuries to make some progress toward a wider distribution of the benefits of civilization inside the narrow circle of our Western society.

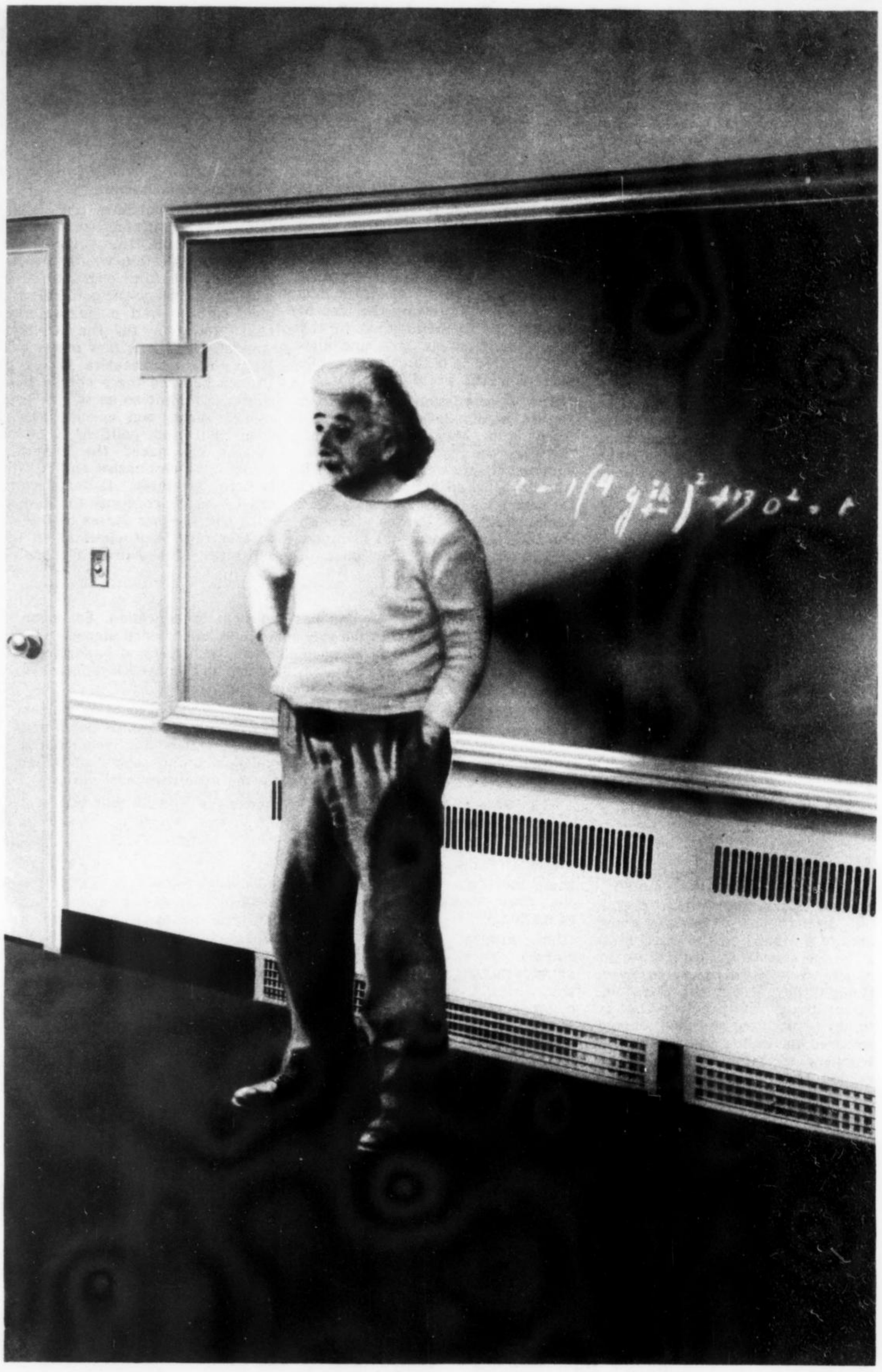
...The supreme need of the hour is, I would suggest, an immense patience and mutual toleration. A revolutionary improvement in means of communication has suddenly brought peoples with sharply diverse traditions or civilizations into close physical contact with one another. If, in spite of our diversity, we find ourselves all alike, pursuing what is ultimately a common ideal, this is something to be thankful for.

"The new ideal and objective of extending the benefits of civilization to the common man will in future times tower above other features of our century." One practical application of this ideal is the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies under which experts are advising the peoples of under-developed countries how to make the best use of their natural resources.

"CULTURE MUST BE ONE OF THE FOUNDATIONS FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING"

by

PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN



IN order to grasp the full significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is well to be fully aware of the world situation that gave birth to the United Nations and to Unesco. The devastation wrought by the wars of the last half century had brought home the fact to everybody that, with the present-day level of technical achievement, the security of nations could be based only on supra-national institutions and rules of conduct. It understood that, in the long run, an all-destroying conflict can be avoided only by the setting up of a world federation of nations.

So—as a modest beginning of international order—the United Nations was founded. This organization, however, is but a meeting ground for delegates of national governments and not for the peoples' representatives acting independently on the basis of their own personal convictions. Furthermore, U.N. decisions do not have binding force on any national government ; nor do any concrete means exist by which the decisions can be enforced.

The effectiveness of the United Nations is still further reduced by the fact that membership has been refused to certain nations, whose exclusion seriously affects the supra-character of the organization. Yet, in itself, the fact that international problems are brought up and discussed in the broad light of day favours the peaceful solution of conflicts. The existence of a supra-national platform of discussion is apt to accustom the peoples gradually to the idea that national interests must be safeguarded by negotiation and not by brute force.

This psychological or educational effect I regard as the United Nations' most valuable feature. A world federation presupposes a new kind of loyalty on the part of man, a sense of responsibility that does not stop short at the national boundaries. To be truly effective, such loyalty must embrace more than purely political issues. Understanding among different cultural groups, mutual economic and cultural aid are the necessary additions.

Only by such endeavour will the feeling of confidence be established that was lost owing to the psychological effect of the wars and sapped by the narrow philosophy of militarism and power politics. No effective institution for the collective security of nations is possible without understanding and a measure of reciprocal confidence.

To the U.N. was added Unesco, the agency whose function it is to pursue these cultural tasks. It has in a greater measure than U. N. been able to avoid the paralyzing influence of power politics.

Realizing that healthy international relations can be created only among populations made up of individuals who themselves are healthy and enjoy a measure of independence, the United Nations elaborated a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on 10 December, 1948.

The Declaration establishes a number of universally comprehensible standards that are designed to protect the individual, to prevent his being exploited economically, and to safeguard his development and the free pursuit of his activities within the social framework.

To spread these standards among all U.N. Member States is rightly regarded and aimed at as an important objective. Unesco has accordingly instituted this third celebration for the purpose of drawing attention far and wide to these fundamental aspirations as a basis on which to restore the political health of the peoples.

It was scarcely to be avoided that the Declaration should take the form of a legalistic document, which in its rigidity may lead to endless discussion. It is impossible for such a text to take the great diversity of conditions of life in the different countries fully into account; in addition, it is unavoidable that such a text admits various interpretations of detail. The general tendency of the Declaration, however, is unmistakable and provides a suitable, generally acceptable basis for judgmend and action.

To give formal recognition to standards and to adopt them as the guiding lines of action in the teeth of all the adversities of a changing situation are two very different things—as the impartial observer may see particularly in the history of religious institutions. Then and only then will the Declaration exert effective influence, when the United Nations itself shows by its decisions and actions that it does embody, de facto, the spirit of this, its own Declaration.

A. Einstein.

EDUCATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

by Lionel Elvin

(Director, Department of Education, Unesco)

IT is only a little while, against the scale of recorded history, since any who claimed the right to education for everybody would have been thought mad. He would probably have been thought dangerous also. Yet on December 10th, three years ago, the Governments of the Member States of the United Nations solemnly declared that every one did have the right to education.

This solemn assurance did not, it is true, have the force of law, for it was not made in a Treaty or Covenant. But this Article 26 of the Universal Declaration does set a standard, so that if any one anywhere in the world claims that his right to education is not being given in practice he knows that he is asking for something that the governments of the world have said should be his.

There are many who could make such a protest at the present time. More than half of the adult men and women in the world cannot even read or write. We do not know exactly how many of the children of the world between the ages of six and twelve are not in regular attendance at school, but it can hardly be a much smaller proportion.

We know that access to education is not always given without discrimination of "race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status", as the Declaration says it should be.

Prejudice and poverty

THIS is not due only to prejudice, though there is a great deal of prejudice in the world still. It is due also to the difficulties in which nations find themselves, though they accept the principle, in turning it into practice, that is to say in building the new schools required, in finding and paying the teachers to man them, and in raising their general standard of life so that they can support such financial burdens. For very many countries there is little chance of doing these things without international aid.

That is where Unesco comes in, both through its own activities and through its partnership in the United Nations programme of Technical Assistance to raise the economic level of life in underdeveloped countries.

Unesco plays its part in three ways. It is concerned, in an advisory capacity, with the attempt now being made to supplement the Declaration by a Covenant. It is concerned with international educational assistance to those countries that request it for turning this principle into fact. And it is concerned with getting the idea of Human Rights understood in the schools so that our boys and girls will be fitted to become responsible citizens of the world of to-morrow.

The Commission on Human Rights, at its Seventh Session in April and May of this year, discussed the right to education, in common with other rights, when it was drawing up a draft Covenant to submit to the Economic and Social Council. Unesco, through the Director-General and members of the Secretariat, took part in these meetings. Two Articles in the draft Covenant dealt with education.

The first of these has several clauses. It re-asserts the right of everybody to education, says that primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all, that secondary education shall be generally available and made progressively free, and that fundamental education (for those who have not received proper primary education) shall be encouraged : and there are other important clauses.

The second of these articles is particularly interesting, for it binds every Member State that signs the Covenant, and that does not yet have free and compulsory primary education, to draw up (within two years) a plan for achieving it within a reasonable period of time. If this were done the advance in the life of the peoples of the world would be incalculable.

Now the Economic and Social Council, when it received this draft Covenant from the Commission, raised the question whether social rights of this kind ought to be in one Covenant with political and civic rights ; and it has referred that question to the General Assembly which is now meeting in Paris. The Executive Board of Unesco believes there should be a single Covenant so as to link economic, social and cultural rights with civil and political liberties, and it has asked the Director-General to emphasise this at the General Assembly. It has also invited him to continue discussions with the Member States of Unesco to ascertain their views as to the substance of the draft clauses on education rights.

Many countries are in fact pressing on with schooling, and Unesco has been putting into effect its first measures for assisting them.

An international conference on the subject was held last summer in Geneva, under the joint auspices of Unesco and the International Bureau of Education ; and this will be followed by regional conferences to work things out in more local detail (the first being for the countries of southern Asia and the South Pacific, in 1952). For this purpose studies will be made (six have already been) on the problem as it affects particular countries, until a study has been made for every country in the world. Expert advisers will be sent by Unesco on the request of Member States, to help them by bringing international experience to their aid.

The third way in which Unesco links education and Human Rights is broader : it concerns the understanding in our schools and universities of the concept of Human Rights as a whole.

"Human Rights" is of course not a subject that can be taught, like history or geography or mathematics ; though much teaching, especially in history, will involve study of them and of the struggle to win them. In the same way the consciousness of what their own country stands for is in part taught to boys and girls and young people through their school subjects.

> ARTICLE 26: 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
>
> 2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
>
> 3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Lesson in living

BUT it goes further than that : it is conveyed through school activities and school ceremonies and through the way the school conducts itself and feels itself as part of the community. In the same way an international society in which human rights are really respected can be felt through the schools as a growing reality, over and above what is formally taught in class.

To think out how to do these things is not easy. Unesco is calling a seminar of teachers in the summer of 1952 to discuss the best methods in the school. In connexion with this it is preparing a handbook of hints for teachers, and a book of basic documents, with scholarly commentaries, illustrating the struggle for human rights in the past and the present. It is asking Member States, this year and every year, to observe Human Rights Day in their schools. These things can all help to make a better world, for the schoolchildren of today when they are grown men and women.

But to do this, they must be taken up with vigour and with imagination everywhere. How many of our schools are satisfied that they do now treat their own children without discrimination of sex, or colour, or politics or religion, or give a view of other people that recognises their equal rights too ? If every teacher, schoolboy or schoolgirl who reads this article could think of one thing in his own school where this was not yet done, and would set out to make practice there accord with the principles of the Declaration before December 10th, 1952, this would be a truly significant year in the history of human rights.

Although many nations accept the principle of free access to education for all, they lack the means to provide schools and train teaching staffs for them. Where teachers are available, however, improvised classrooms can be organized, like the one shown above, held in an Indonesian village.

Millions of women have still to win equality

By Georges FRADIER

ANY discussion on the subject of women's rights almost invariably results in comparisons being drawn between the most favourable of present-day conditions and those of between fifty and one hundred years ago. The results of such contrasts are usually encouraging, for there is no doubt that in many countries women have fought for and achieved their emancipation. Legislation in their favour has been responsible for widespread changes and the idea of equality between the sexes meets with almost unanimous agreement. Yet how justified is this satisfaction with the apparent progress that has been made?

To judge the real measure of what has been achieved one might do better to compare even the most satisfactory of present-day conditions with the text of a document that expresses on this subject the widest and noblest aspirations of our time : The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In this Declaration, the United Nations laid down a common standard of achievement to be aimed for by all peoples and all nations at this midpoint in the 20th century. Its texts are not Utopian in concept. They provide a precise definition of the legislation which should govern all peoples in the light of present knowledge, technical progress and economic conditions, taking into account social and juridical progress already achieved.

Perhaps the spirit of their universality of purpose and application is best framed in the solemn words of the Preamble which declares "the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith... in the equal rights of men and women".

Yet, in all honesty, one must admit that this "faith" in equal rights too often remains a theoretical one, that the rights named in the Declaration are only partially applied, and that the status of women remains far below the level defined by international legislators.

Nowadays, the social and political emancipation of women is discussed much less than it was fifty years ago, and because it is rarely mentioned there is a tendency to consider the problem as solved — or nearly so. Facts demonstrate the contrary, for while in many countries women have the right to go to law and to vote, over half of the world's women are still deprived of these rights.

It is not possible, even in 1951, to speak in general of "the rights of women in the modern world", and in any case, even the phrase, "the modern world" is illusory, used in this connexion. The Englishwoman or the Swede, for example, may with good reason point to the successful evolution of her legal status, but she should not forget that millions of other women are still no better off in this respect than their female ancestors of the Middle Ages, or even of the Stone Age, for that matter.

A clear distinction must be drawn between the two main problems which concern the status of women. Firstly, in many countries women have still to gain their political rights and, even in those countries which have officially recognized and proclaimed them, their full application still meets with many obstacles. In this connexion, therefore, the fight which has long been waged must be continued with even greater effort.

Secondly, inequality expressed through attitudes and customs is most deeply entrenched in human minds, and it is here that it must be rooted out and destroyed. The leading place which women have filled in the field of education gives them an effective weapon for this fight.

Today, too, women have a means of bringing about international action through the work of the Commission on the Status of Women in the United Nations Economic and Social Council which can co-ordinate the individual efforts of women in all countries.

This need for personal action was stressed recently by a member of the Commission, who said : "It is up to all women to make equality a reality."

All over the world women are taking an increasingly active part in fundamental education campaigns. Here, an entire Indian village turns out to greet the women members of a mobile educational mission. In India, where once few women enjoyed political rights, the present Constitution gives all women the right to vote and hold public office

THROUGHOUT the ages those women who led the fight for the emancipation of their sex understood clearly that the first right to be won was the right to knowledge.

One of these was Christine de Pisan, daughter of the physician-astrologer to Charles V of France.

This woman, a widow at 25, defying ridicule and scandal, accomplished in 1390, the extraordinary feat of living on her own by her pen. "Ladies' Treasure" and "A City for Ladies" were the first works showing that Woman was really the equal of Man. She wrote : "If it were the custom to send girls to school and teach them as boys are taught, women would understand the subtleties of art and science, as well as men do. »

Her successors—the Englishwoman, Mary Astell, in the 17th century and the followers of the French thinkers in the 18th—revolted in like manner against the unjust prejudice which made them out to be inferior to men.

There was another country where women gave no thought to the question of "rights", absorbed as they were in carrying out what they regarded as their duty. That country was America. The wife of the New England settler was accustomed to stand by her husband's side and fire a musket when it came to defending their farm and their children against bands of marauders. She helped to clear the land, to build, to organize. Right through the War of Independence she remained the tireless helpmate, feeding, tending and supporting.

When, with the Declaration of Independence proclaiming that "all men are created equal", the Federal Constitution was drawn up in 1787, the American women, not unnaturally, might have expected to be given the vote. But, instead, their menfolk refused to give constitutional recognition to their rights as "citizens".

After the first French Revolution, Olympe de Gouges laid before the Convention her "Declaration of the Rights of Woman". This urged that women, who "must take part in the making of laws", should be granted the same "public privileges, appointments and offices as those open to citizens". "Women", she argued, "have the right to mount the scaffold; they should also have the right to mount the rostrum". When, on 3 November 1793, Olympe de Gouges bravely ascended the steps of the guillotine, neither she, nor any other woman, had yet climbed those of the tribune.

Nevertheless, other women, in other countries, continued to hope for emancipation, thanks to the great liberating movement started in France.

In England, Mary Wollstonecraft published in 1792 her "Vindication of the

CHRISTINE DE PISAN

Her books, written in Paris in 1390, urged recognition of equality between the sexes.

Rights of Woman". Women, she said, must be rescued from the depths of ignorance to which they have been consigned ; they must be educated. In this way, the mind of Woman having reached an equality with the mind of Man, she will be able to become his equal in married, professional and political life.

The "Vindication of the Rights of Woman" produced an outcry in England. Women were frightened by the audacity of this dangerous "hyena in petticoats", so immoral and shameless as to advocate co-education!

In America women gradually obtained equality of civil rights.

Frenchwomen, on the other hand, had been placed under tutelage by the Napoleonic Civil Code. They were now to witness the Revolution of 1848. Their hopes stimulated again by this new revolution, they formed associations, opened clubs, started newspapers, organized lectures in order to obtain educational equality, revision of the Civil Code, protection of working women, and civic rights. Public opinion was either scornful or indignant.

In 1849, the French were called upon to elect a National Assembly. Jeanne Deroin, in defiance of the Constitution, put forward her name, and sought the backing of the Social Democrats, saying : "You stand for the abolition of the exploitation of men and women by men; for the complete and radical abolition of all privileges of sex, race, birth, rank and fortune". And for the first time, a political party admitted a woman among its candidates.

In England, in the middle of the XIXth century, the boldest fighters were among women in easy circumstances, and their best propagandist was a man : John Stuart Mill, author of "Women's Servitude".

In 1867, when a bill for Electoral Reform was under discussion, J. S. Mill demanded that women should participate in the right to vote. He submitted to Parliament a petition with 1499 signatures attached (he had asked for 100), obtained by Mrs. Fawcett, who had recently founded in London the Society for Women's Suffrage.

Mill's proposal was rejected, but the drafters of the Reform bill, forgetting the term "male persons", returned to the use of the word "men". In that case, cried the women, "men" being a general term, the bill applies to us! Eight thousand of them demanded to have their names placed upon the electoral registers. Some succeeded in their demand; but Parliament had no intention of accepting such an interpretation.

The Faculty of Medicine tenaciously resisted all assaults. Elizabeth Garrett, fired with enthusiasm by the lectures of her compatriot, Elizabeth Blackwell, who, having gained her degree in America, was now the first woman doctor, had decided in 1862 to become a doctor also. Debarred from following the regular medical course, she entered Saint Bartholomew's Hospital as a nurse; spent her nights studying, and followed the doctors on their rounds. In 1865, her brilliant work earned for her the first English medical degree conferred upon a woman.

Having obtained municipal suffrage for unmarried women, the National Union for Women's Suffrage went on with its campaign for the parliamentary vote. But Parliament, in spite of petitions and projects, turned a deaf ear. In 1897, champions of the female vote became more numerous in Parliament and seemed on the point of obtaining this right. Anti-feminist speakers, however, engaged in an interminable discussion of two bills; one for the combatting of parasites, the other for the building of sewers. It was then time for the House to rise. Thus, "for a flea and a sewer", Englishwomen failed to get the vote.

In Germany, it was in the midst of the nationalist and liberal movement of 1848 that the first Feminist, Louise Otto, made her appearance. "What part should women play in affairs of State?", asked a Liberal newspaper. Louise Otto, then 25, replied : "Their participation is not a right, but a duty. Women, like men, have a mission to perform; to wield the sword of Justice and Truth in the halls of the Assembly." Moved by the poverty-striken condition of working women, she also forwarded to the Minister a plan for the organization of female labour.

Work!—that was to be, a few years later, the primary demand put forward by the German Feminist Movement, particularly in the east of the country, striken by a serious agricultural crisis and badly hit by the development of the heavy industries of the west.

Led by Louise Otto, who founded the

Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance", states Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During the last hundred years, social legisiation has helped to improve the living conditions of the less favoured classes, but much more will have to be done if mothers and their children are to be spared such conditions as those shown above.

JUANA INEZ DE LA CRUZ

In 16th century Mexico she strove to help the poor and died while nursing plague victims.

WOMAN'S STRUGGLE TO ATTAIN HER RIGHTS

by Michèle Massane

ARTICLE 16: 1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 23: 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 25: 1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

After a long struggle, women in many parts of the world have won equality with men. They have equality before the law in whose application they now participate as judges and lawyers.

first "General Association of German Women" in 1865, and Augusta Schmidt and H. Lange, who formed them in 1890 nto the "General Association of Governesses", they were to fight to obtain the ame education, the same degrees and the ame posts as men. As for the right to ote, they won it in 1919, under the Weinar Constitution.

In Sweden the leader was Frederika Bremer, who came across the Feminist Movement while on a visit to America. Returning to Sweden, she published "Herta" in 1856. This novel was to be he starting point of the whole Feminist Movement in Sweden.

Frederika Bremer got 25 recognized as he age at which women attained their majority. Her disciples—most of whom were married women of the leisured class —rapidly obtained equality in education. From 1870 onwards, all the universities were thrown open to women, who flocked o them enthusiastically.

With obstinate determination the Swedish women's "League for the right to ote" campaigned until it met with success in 1903.

The Norwegian woman was able to take dvantage of the ideas of equality current n her democratic country. From the beinning of the XIXth century, she began o obtain equality in regard to education, onditions of work and civil rights.

Women no longer had anything to agiate for save political rights, when, in 885, Gina Krog founded, in Christiania today, Oslo), the first association for omen's suffrage. In 1899, 12,000 women igned a petition demanding the vote. very member of the Storthing found a opy of it on his desk and they gave the natter their careful attention. First success was registered in 1901, in the munipal field, when Norwegian women secured the election of 90 of their sex. In 907 the doors of Parliament were opened o them.

In Finland, under Russian domination, he hour of national awakening had truck, and the poet Z. Topelius wrote : Without women's help it will be impossible to inspire our future generations ith noble ideas".

But the women of Finland were profoundly ignorant, and the whole system f education needed revising. Sarah Wacklin, the Finnish woman writer, ounded girls' boarding-schools in Helsini and elsewhere. Frederika Runeberg piced Feminist demands : improvement n education, in the position of married omen, in conditions of work. F. Breer's book, by rousing public opinion and he Press, brought about the first public ebate on Feminism.

At the end of the century the women ok their stand by the men to organize esistance and, in 1905, they stood by hem to compel Russia to re-open the iet, in which they were to take their ats in 1907.

Bursting like a bombshell in the midst f peaceful Danish families, the "Letters f Clara Raphael" written by a girl of , split Denmark into two hostile camps. lthough published in 1849, her "Letters" o not appear to bear the marks of any reign influence. Time passed; the conagration died down, and nothing more ppened until around 1870. Then, suddnly, under the instigation of Frederick ajer, the Feminist Movement came into being, organized itself with astonishing rapidity and straightway demanded the right to vote. Its adherents immediately undertook the social and political education of women of the working class. In less than 40 years, Danish women had obtained the vote (1908) and the right to stand (1909) in municipal elections. Six years later, they became eligible for all political assemblies.

Dutchwomen allowed the middle of the XIXth century to pass without demonstration of any kind. In 1880, a Liberal minister opened to them the University of Groningen and, as a natural consequence, all the other universities. They could

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

She organized medical care of Crimean War wounded, and brought about military hospital reforms.

enter any of the professions. But they still came under the famous Napoleonic Code, their first Feminists pressed for civil rights. Aletta Jacobs, the first Dutch woman student, launched a petition for the legislative vote in 1883. The first big campaign organized by the "Association for Women's Suffrage", on the occasion of a bill for constitutional reform, took place in 1905. Dutchwomen became eligible for election in 1917, and voters in 1919.

The year 1848—the date of the Convention of Seneca Falls—was a landmark in the history of Feminism in America. This Convention was the direct result of the Anti-slavery Congress held in London.

In the early 'thirties, Lucretia Nott had launched her antislavery campaign, and neither insults nor threats of death prevented her from speaking.

When, in 1840, an International Congress for the Abolition of Slavery met in London, L. Nott went there with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Elizabeth Pease. But they were stopped from entering the hall, and only tolerated as listeners in the gallery. "Very well!" exclaimed Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "as soon as we get back to America we will call a meeting to discuss Woman's slavery" And, indeed, immediately after their return, henceforth convinced that the abolition of political incapacity was the key to the abolition of all other disabilities, they set to work.

The movement now relied on the support of societies founded in the different States. In 1848, the delegates assembled at Seneca Falls voted in favour of a Convention: since the Government only exists to safeguard the inalienable rights of men and women, "if it fails in this essential duty, the governed may legitimately withdraw their allegiance". The following year, the "National Convention for Electoral Suffrage" was founded.

After the Civil War, Negro slavery was abolished. But women were not included in the text of the 14th amendment to the Constitution, giving negroes the right to vote. Although certain States, of which Wyoming was the first in 1869, gave women the vote, Susan B. Anthony, now the leader of the Movement, considered the right should be claimed in the federal sphere.

In 1872, she took part with fourteen other women in the federal elections at Rochester. She was arrested and brought before the magistrate. Her offence was to have voted without having the legal right to do so. She was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 dollars, but refused to pay.

Some years later, the "National Association for Women's Suffrage" had become the heart of a solid and powerful organization. Each year, a Congress brought together delegates from all over the Union. At the Congress held in Washington in 1888, the idea of an International Women's Association was put forward. Five years later, at Chicago, the "International Women's Council" was formed, to which all countries gradually became affiliated.

America, England and France, the

EMMELINE PANKHURST

She led Englishwomen in their determined and victorious fight for the right to vote.

triple cradle of Feminism, were the countries in which the struggle for the vote was to be the longest and the most arduous.

In Manchester, England, in 1905, Sir Edward Grey, who was presiding over an important electoral meeting, had just finished his speech. "When do you intend giving the vote to Englishwomen?" shouted a woman. For the first time, the "Women's Political and Social Union" had made its voice heard. At the head of it was Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst who, tired of false promises by the Government, had decided to go into action with her adherents. Thenceforward, "suffragettes" were to use direct methods of agitation; causing uproar at political meetings, demonstrating outside Parliament, badgering ministers even at the theatre and in drawing-rooms, organizing mass parades.

From 1912 onwards, exasperated by persistent obstruction in Parliament, their action became more violent. But when war came, their one thought was to work for victory, following which they were given the right to vote.

In 1917, in order to obtain the vote, the little group of American "Militants" went into action. On 10 January, 12 women, carrying banners inscribed with their claims, took up their stand, silent and motionless, in front of the White House. The following day other women took their places. So, day after day, the silent but symbolic sentinels mounted guard. On 22 June, accused of "obstructing the traffic", they were arrested as a warning, and then released. They immediately returned to take up their watch. This time they were sent to prison, for they refused to pay the fine.

Courageous as these women were, it was, nevertheless, not their spectacular efforts but persistent and often obscure work on the part of the mass of American Feminists—of which the "Militants" formed only a small fraction—which finally gave American women their rights of citizenship.

Ever since 1780, the public monuments of France have been inscribed with the words: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. But though the Chamber of Deputies was prepared, from 1925 onwards, to give real liberty to women and to place them on an equality, the Senate fiercely opposed any change. The year 1944 however, saw the liberation of France and the granting of the vote to Frenchwomen.

What a long way we have come especially, since the beginning of the century! Women have proved their worth in every field.

Yet, in spite of an equality accepted in principle, custom, prejudices and material conditions still prevail which tend to re-establish a measure of inequality. This must be fought against. "We now have to proclaim", as M. Jaime Torres Bodet has urged, "that mankind needs—and needs urgently—the active intervention of women, who have at last attained their majority. It is the recognition of a right, of a hard-won dignity, to give women the means of complete self-development and self-determination; it is also the response to a vital need of to-day".

Michele Massane, the author of this article has specialized, during her career as a journalist, in women's affairs, particularly in regard to national legislation affecting women.

FRENCH PRESIDENT PAYS TRIBUTE TO U. N. SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

OPENING the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in Paris last month, M. Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic, paid a tribute to the work of the United Nations Specialized Agencies, each of which, he said, was "a positive centre of peace and co-operation."

In his speech, M. Auriol declared:

"When, six years ago, at the end of an appalling war and when its lessons were still in everyone's mind, the Charter was signed unanimously, it appeared that the struggle for peace and for collective security was inseparable from the struggle against ignorance, disease and poverty, and that by working for economic, social, legal and intellectual progress in every form and on a world-wide scale we would thereby eliminate the causes of conflict and create conditions favourable for the political solution of the problems of peace.

"Since then a great volume of work has been done by the Councils of the United Nations and by Specialized Agencies, the activities and number of which show a gratifying tendency to increase, and whose work in all too many cases is practically unknown to the public. I have had occasion in the past to stress this fact before those non-governmental organizations which have made themselves responsible for spreading knowledge of the United Nations and providing them with the essential backing of the peoples' will. We must use all the modern media of information to make more and more people aware of the reality of the United Nations and all its work. Thus we shall convince the sceptical, the hesitant and the lukewarm and those who regard the international community as a remote utopia devoid of any immediate or practical significance.

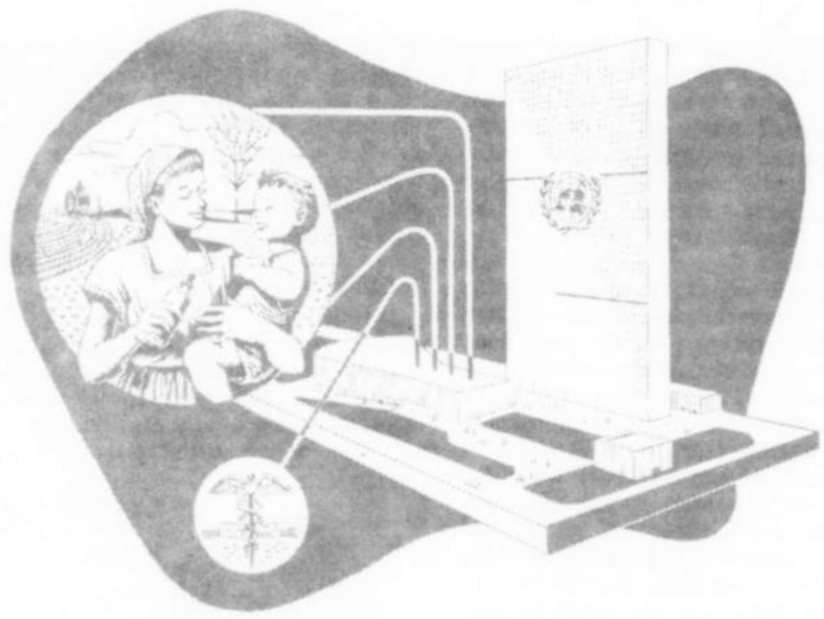
"It is fitting to mention the work done by the Specialized Agencies in the field of labour, agricultural development and public health. People must no longer, for example, be unaware of the millions of children who have been saved and the millions of children immunized against tuberculosis thanks to the gigantic campaign undertaken by the Children's Emergency Fund and the International Children's Centre. People must be made aware of the fact that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization — Unesco — has not only reduced illiteracy by mutiplying centres of basic education but has prepared the way for universal and wholehearted co-operation by co-ordinating the work of international associations of specialists and by promoting the free movement of persons and scientific material for educational and cultural purposes.

"Each of those organizations is a positive centre of peace and co-operation together with the Councils directly dependent upon the United Nations itself; they are the effective instruments of the fine and expanding programme of technical assistance for economic development, social welfare and public administration. Each day they add more reality to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was approved unanimously by your Assembly in 1948 and the simultaneous supervised and sincere application of which by all the signatory countries would suffice to provide the world with an era of peace and security and prosperity without precedence in history."

THE RECOGNITION OF MAN'S ECONOMIC RIGHTS

by Gunnar Myrdal

Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe



IN modern legal and sociological doctrine, it is generally acknowledged that declarations of those rights which, following on habeas corpus, were evolved by the revolutionary thinking of the eighteenth century, are not in themselves enough to secure respect for the liberties of the individual; if they are to have any real meaning, the proclamation of constitutional liberties must be backed by recognition of the economic rights which it is the duty of any society to guarantee to its citizens.

No one would seriously question today, for example, that freedom in law and freedom from governmental or administrative tyranny cannot be regarded as man's greatest good if the vast majority of citizens, while having such freedom, are allowed to die from starvation.

Today we believe that constitutional and legal liberties should be combined with the right of every citizen to look to the society of which he is a member for the satisfaction, through its economic and social organization, of his vital needs in the cultural, economic and social spheres.

The development of theory in this respect has had a profound effect on practice. The most recent constitutions containing a declaration of human rights include, in addition to the classic freedoms, a number of clauses setting forth the right of the individual to a decent standard of living, to work and to social security.

FAITH PLUS ACTION

THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, follows the same course. Its Articles 22 to 25 give international recognition to a series of principles providing a basis for the "realization, through national effort and international cooperation, and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for the dignity (of every individual as a member of society) and the free development of his personality." (Article 22.)

It may be wondered whether traditionally conceived civic liberties can be secured by evolving a procedure for international supervision of the way in which each of the Member countries is carrying out the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration, far more constructive action has to be taken if we are to bring about the effective recognition of economic rights.

When the United Nations specified, in Article 22 of the Declaration, that the realization of economic rights should be achieved in accordance with the organization and resources of each country, they were not simply stating a truism; they were indicating clearly that, if the proclamation of those rights in the Declaration is to have any force, it is essential to perfect the organization and develop the economic resources of the Member States. The extent to which the United Nations succeed in their efforts to bring about such improvements in organization and the use of resources will determine their ability to enforce observance of the principles they have acknowledged in those Articles of the Universal Declaration which refer to the economic rights of men and women.

ARTICLE 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

All the efforts of the subsidiary bodies of the United Nations in economic and social affairs are more or less directly connected with the pursuit of this long-term aim—the recognition and observance of man's economic rights. This is the purpose of the work the International Labour Organization has been doing for the past thirty years to promote social legislation in the different countries of the world and to bring these laws into line with one another. The Economic and Social Council has the same end in view when it seeks for practical measures to secure full employment or when, in consultation with the various Specialized Agencies, it studies ways of financing economic and social progress in under-developed areas. And, lastly, the regional economic commissions, jointly or individually, are likewise pursuing the same aim in seeking, in agreement with Member Governments, means to increase production in each of the countries concerned, to expand consumption, and to organize international trade between them.

These various undertakings are not all at the same stage of development. Some of them, like those of the International Labour Organization, already have a long list of achievements to their credit. Others, such as those of the regional Economic Commissions, though still in their early stages, are likely, because of the daily contacts that are possible between the Commissions and the governments concerned, to produce tangible results in the near future.

ECONOMIC CHARTER

OUR efforts to bring about the economic and social rehabilitation of the underdeveloped countries, which are planned on a wider scale and faced with far more serious practical difficulties, will certainly take much longer. But the results it is possible to achieve in this sphere, thanks to the readiness of governments to co-operate, will have even greater meaning for the future of the world.

There is, however, this in common between all the efforts I have described: when practical difficulties are encountered, or if some governments decline to play their part in international economic co-operation, it is now possible, since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly, to remind them that effective co-operation in the effort to find ways of raising the standard of the world's economy follows naturally from the principles set forth in Articles 22 to 25 of the Declaration.

The Declaration may therefore be regarded as a real charter of international co-operation in economic matters or, at all events, as an invitation to the governments which are Members of the United Nations to take effective action to implement the principles they have formally approved. This is surely a feature to which attention may well be drawn on this third anniversary of the Universal Declaration.

FOUR SUPREME HUMAN FREEDOMS

By

Sir Robert Watson Watt, F.R.S.

THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights necessarily covers a range of rights and freedoms so vast, so very universal, that if they are not to merge into an impressive but remote-seeming nebula, each must be picked out for selective examination by someone specially concerned. Everyone is interested in and affected by every Article of the Declaration. But each of us can find at least one Article bearing with peculiar directness on his own fears, hopes and faiths.

I trust that I shall not be calling down on my head the opprobrious epithet "intellectual" if I declare that for me the majority of the Articles of the Universal Declaration primarily delineate a solid foundation of bodily and material securities on which must rest the supreme freedoms of Articles 18, 19, 26 and 27.

The foundation is indispensable, for even the most freely soaring mind, spirit or soul must, within the measure of those Articles, be ground-based. But if the material securities are to be truly secure, if they are to become universal — they are still lamentably circumscribed even in the liberal parts of our broadly liberal world of today — they will do so only by the exercise of the intellectual rights.

It is no empty paradox to say that though the growth of the intellectual freedoms cannot be assured save on a minimal foundation of material securities, yet these material securities are continuously dependent on the full enjoyment of the intellectual freedoms It is not merely that man cannot live by bread alone; it is that the bread itself is menaced by restraint on the freedoms of the mind.

In the interests of that de-nebulisation which I think important to effective application of the Declaration, I go so far as to select even from within those Articles which I regard as the keystones of its arch. Article 18 declares that "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought — to change his belief — to manifest his belief in teaching, practice —." Article 19 declares that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression — to hold opinions without interference — to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Right to Be 'Wrong'

THE rights thus claimed include that highest of human rights, the right to be "wrong", to adhere to those heresies through which minorities, often oppressed, initially almost always minorities of one, have changed the face of the world, physical and spiritual. They include the right to exercise the ill-appreciated courage of the "turncoat", which is only another name for a convert, and the right to preach "false" and "subversive" doctrines. There are sadly few communities sufficiently adult fully to cede these rights within their own frontiers — regardless of the frontiers of others.

This is the unfamiliar and never wholly welcome face of the medal. The other face is familiar, welcome, but it too is more especially welcome in its application to the other side of the frontier. It is the transcendently important one of unrestricted access to basic knowledge and ideas, access to every channel of ephemeral publication, to books, to meetings, conferences and debates, to cinema films, to radio broadcasting, all "regardless of frontiers".

To the scientific worker this used to be almost a platitude. He never doubted that science could only advance healthily as a wholly international enterprise. He never, save as a minor and gratifying diversion, catalogued the nationalities of those who contributed to the ever-growing stock of sure scientific knowledge and to the fertilising accessions of hypothesis, reasoned speculation, and critical appreciation.

He was humanly happy when someone in another country provided evidence in support of his hypothesis; he was inspired to higher flights by evidence which failed to fit. The greatest blow that has been struck against the growth of science is the restriction, whether on political, military or economic grounds, which has in recent years been imposed on the international interchange of basic scientific thought.

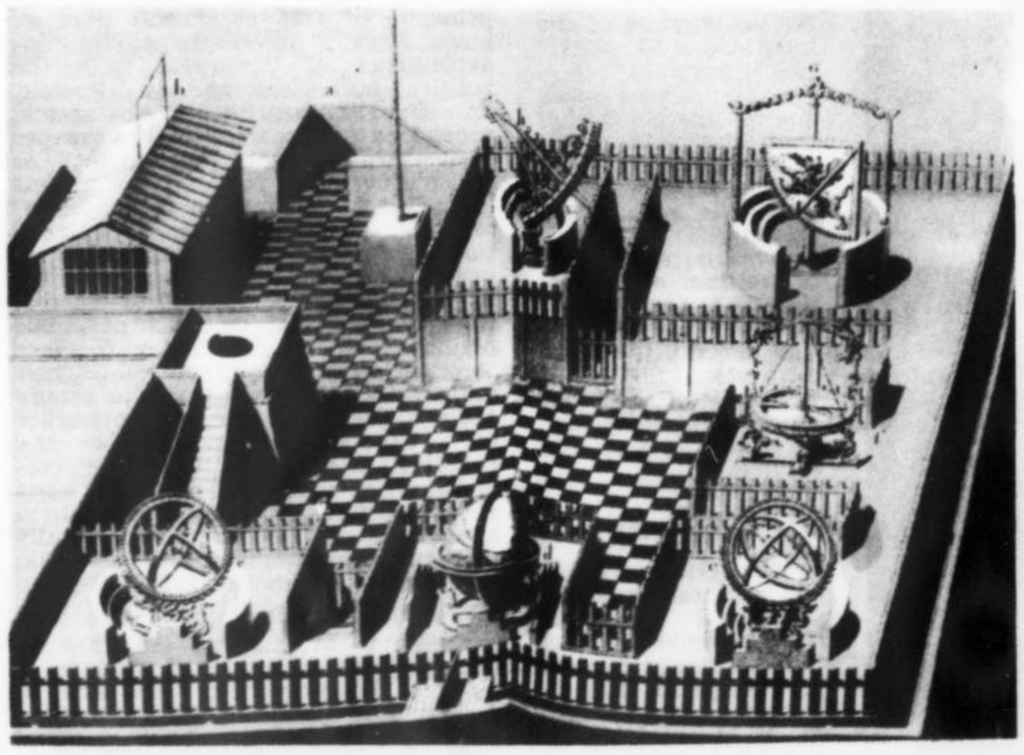
A Radical Antidote

ARTICLE 26 declares that "Everyone has the right to education — directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms — to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship".

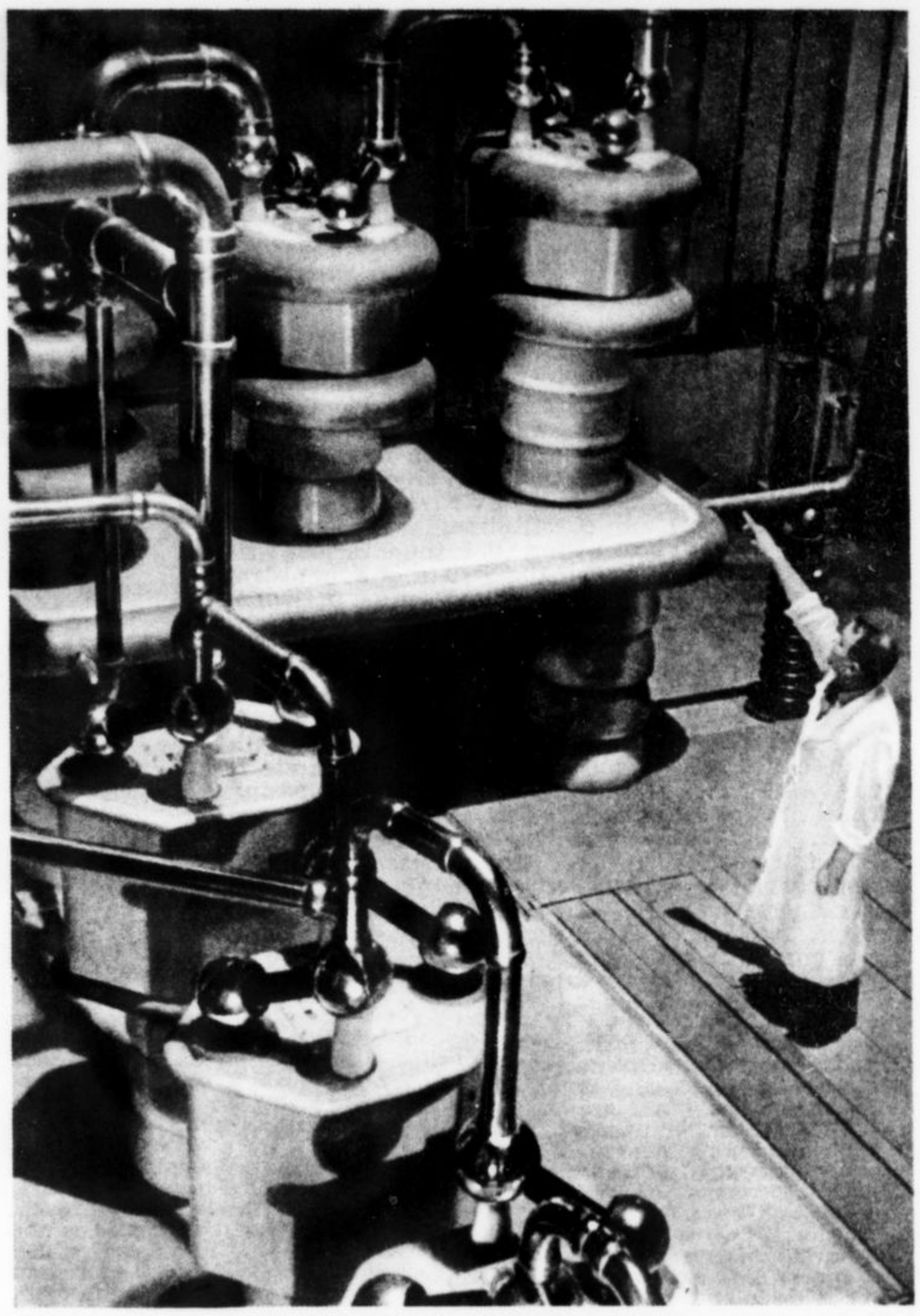
"Article 27 — freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."

Article 26 is, in fact, the radical antidote to this disease of restrictive practices in international science. A liberal education, in the true sense of encouraging and feeding a wide, well-balanced appreciation of the greatest triumphs of the human spirit in every field of endeavour, is the only real cure for the disease of intellectual isolationism, with its inevitable sequel of intellectual sterility. It is not a lightning cure, but it is worth persisting with the treatment for a couple of centuries or so — then we shall really see worthwhile results.

Meanwhile Article 27 prescribes a sustaining diet which will help the patient to live a reasonably full and useful life. And these four articles together provide a goal for intellectual and spiritual advances that would on the one hand be a superb harvest from the earthy fields which are safeguarded by the other articles, and on the other would enrich these same fields to a still higher level of human satisfaction and legitimate human pride.



The exchange of knowledge between peoples began early in history and developed concurrently with the growth of travel. One example, shown above in an 18th century engraving, was the setting up of an observatory in Pekin, by the Jesuit Fathers. Today, the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas regardless of frontiers remains an indispensable condition of human progress.



Formerly, the scientific worker never doubted that science could only advance healthily as a wholly international enterprise. In recent years, however, science has suffered through the restriction, on various grounds, of the international exchange of basic scientific thought.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION

(Continued from page 2)

To grant these States the right to a special system, wherein the obligations would be less strict than in the case of affiliated States, would be a breach of the equality and reciprocity which are the corner-stones of international relations. To refuse to grant such a right, however, would bring about a very long delay in the ratification of the Covenant by such States, and in its extension throughout the world. Hence the need for a fresh solution, which has not so far been found.

In point of fact, all the difficulties I have described can be summed up more or less as follows. To what extent will "sovereign" States consent to waive their "sovereignty" in the interests of the world-wide advancement of human rights? Their present position rather resembles that of the fathers of families in ancient times, who had power of life and death over the other members of the tribe or the *domus,* and who lost the more menacing features of their paternal authority only gradually, through the influence of custom, as they were integrated into the larger social group of the city or State.

We cannot and must not hope that all the attributes of State authority will be transferred to an organized human community; and such a hope would be illusory. But the international protection of human rights, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century took the form of a systematic campaign against the slave-traders, can surely not fail to show equal vigour under the auspices of the United Nations Charter, whose purpose is to prevent the reappearence of some new Hitler.

Merely to put the question is to answer it. If human rights are gravely injured in any one part of the world, nothing can prevent the united race of Mankind from feeling the smart. Implementation of those rights is, therefore, simply a matter of time and of the determination of the different peoples, which must be upheld by the technical procedure of the law.

But, speaking of technical procedure, we should surely rely at least as much on constructive co-operation as on abstract supervision, censure, or coercion.

For there are many States that are not even in a position to implement, by their own unaided efforts, human rights so universally accepted nowadays as the right of every child or adult to be taught to read and write and receive fundamental education. It is not by inveighing against these States that we can fill the gaps in their educational organization; it is by helping them without hurting their feelings or interfering with their independence—by means of international intellectual, technical and financial co-operation. The Commission on Human Rights has understood this, and its Covenant, especially those clauses dealing with the right to education and to the benefits of culture, is pervaded by that positive spirit which informs Unesco's plans and must take precedence over the negative spirit of stricture or censure.

The struggle for human rights has been going on for centuries. The setbacks which have only too often occurred were perhaps due to a lack of unity among the various social or national groups, and to insufficient pressure by public opinion.

To conclude: the future implementation of human rights will go hand in hand with the peaceful and resolute extension of co-operation between individuals and groups, within the vast framework of the international institutions.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION — A COLLECTIVE RIGHT

by Fernand Terrou

Legal Adviser
to the French Cabinet

"Everyone has the right...to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." While with the press, the film and the radio (above) there has been an increase in the means of propagating ideas, the means of controlling and checking this propagation have today also become much more refined.

FREEDOM of expression is among the foremost of human rights. It is the continuation and practical application of personal freedom of thought. The manner in which it is envisaged is therefore a fundamental element of any system of social organization.

Hence, the principle of such freedom must necessarily be set forth more or less explicitly in any social covenant, whatever its form—whether it be derived from custom or determined by a written constitution.

It is thus that, at the present time, these various written constitutions, irrespective of the system of administration that they establish, all make mention—either in their texts or in the legal preambles which precede them—of freedom of expression, though the terminology employed is variable. And when the administration is founded on common law, freedom of expression is among those essential principles of government which general practice, the attitude of the authorities and the vigilance of the courts apply with as much exactitude as, and in an even more concrete form than if they had been enshrined in a written constitution.

The principle of freedom of expression, thus stated or emerging, and the concept therein set forth, must as a matter of course determine the legal system to be applied to the various vehicles of expression, the mass media of information. While freedom of thought is a personal freedom, freedom of expression is a collective freedom, whose character in this respect becomes more and more pronounced as the great technical methods of diffusion multiply and improve.

In the case of individual liberties, such as freedom of thought or security of the person, the legal system need do no more than guard against any attempt to interfere with the behaviour of the individual, other than those controls necessary to social order. Collective freedoms involve a more extensive and complex treatment, in so far as they require the use of considerable material resources. The legal system must then determine the use to be made of these resources, the collective instruments and organizations required by such use, the guarantees which must be furnished for the protection of individual rights within the framework of such organizations and, if need be, the policy to be pursued by these latter in the public interest.

Three Terms — One Idea

THE concept of freedom of expression regarded as a principle is merged with the concept of the use that may be made of the resources and technical methods essential to the practical expression of this freedom. This appears from the very terminology employed. While certain constitutional provisions guarantee freedom of expression, others in the same context, mention only the freedom of the press, which strictly speaking, is the oldest-established of the great media of diffusion.

The advent of new technical methods of information (radio and cinema) has not, however, affected these formulae, because — and this simple examination of constitutional terminology brings us straight to the dominant fact of our whole theme — generally speaking, freedom of expression is not guaranteed so fully, nor under the same conditions in the field of radio or even, sometimes, in that of the cinema, as it is in the field of the press. The constitutional expression of the principle of freedom of expression is the first evidence of this.

Certain constitutional provisions, and especially the most recent, are, however, wider in their scope; such, for instance, is that contained in the Constitution of the Saar, which guarantees freedom of expression whether oral, written, pictorial, or of any other nature... Yet another formula has recently arisen and gained a footing, at any rate on the international plane; it is that of freedom of information, which primarily applies to freedom of expression in every form, and more especially in those forms which correspond to the three great technical media of diffusion. In any case the terms freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of information all express one and the same primary idea.

ARTICLE 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

A Group Freedom

EXAMINING these constitutional provisions on the technical plane, however, we discover, that even when they specify the constituent elements of the notion of freedom enshrined in them, they generally mention only those elements which affect the actual extent of the right of public utterance, leaving out all those which concern the material resources required for that purpose. Now, freedom of the press or freedom of information, is a collective freedom, a group freedom. Its exercise involves, in the ordinary way, recourse to collective organizations and instruments.

It is true that the magnitude of the material resources needed for the exercise of freedom of expression through the press, and the consequent scale of the collective organizations and instruments, did not become fully evident until the end of the nineteenth century. Whence it might be deduced that constitutional instruments, which in many cases date from an earlier period, could not apply to them. But since then, at least under certain systems, nothing has been done to complete them in this respect.

Yet the press has developed considerably; it has become both a trade and an industry, requiring costly materials — all the more costly since progress and improvements are constant. Alongside the strictly political factor involved in the definition and regulation of collective freedom of expression, and which results simply in laying down the boundaries of the field left open to free initiative, leaving individuals and groups free to select the ideas or news-items that they may wish to circulate, there now appears the economic factor, which affects the very organization of the material resources now required for the use of that right, for the exercise of the functions and activities it involves.

A first glance leads one to the conclusion that the manner in which these resources are, or may be, made use of is an element almost as important as regards the extent of freedom of expression as is the political factor. The distinction between these two elements dominates the whole of the legislation regarding the press and information services.

Free Enterprise

THOUGH, precisely in those constitutional provisions the economic factor is not mentioned save as an exception, this is not due to an oversight. It is because, as we have seen, the systems set up by those provisions do not admit the existence of an economic factor peculiar to the press, of such nature as to call for the separate treatment of newspaper enterprises, and thus to add special provisions concerning the rights of expression.

These constitutional systems are founded on the principle of freedom of trade and industry. It is true that they provide for the regulation of that liberty — regulation which, in certain sectors, goes so far as to annul it. But they always provide a fairly broad sector of economic activity where the regulations are as few and as elastic as possible, to avoid hampering initiative and the spirit of private enterprise.

Uneasy Speculation

THE sector of free enterprise is the very expression, one might say the embodiment, of the economic policy which characterizes the systems mentioned. And the very essence of that concept of freedom of the press and of information, upon which these systems are based, is the assumption that press undertakings belong to the sector of free enterprise.

There was therefore no need to include any special provision for this in those passages of the constitutions which define freedom of expression; the general principle was sufficient, since it applies to the newspaper industry as to all others.

Nevertheless this principle is relaxed or even dropped in respect of radio and cinema, where constitutional provisions carry little weight. As regards newspaper undertakings themselves, uneasy speculation has been aroused, even in those countries most attached to the principle of free enterprise, concerning the possible repercussions of this economic factor upon freedom of expression. And, in any case, every system has some special provisions relating to newspaper enterprises.

★

These systems are based on the principle of free expression that we have already described, on the independence of the press from the political authorities and, in principle, on free enterprise. The special provisions applicable to newspaper undertakings which they include, or which may arise out of the concepts embodied in them, in no way tend, at any rate in the reasons or explanations given for them, to ensure or promote the subordination of the press to the political authority to entrust the supervision or guidance of public opinion to that authority, or to place the enterprise under its control. Their main effect is or would be to ensure either the economic independence of newspaper undertakings, or the practical application of those responsibilities which go hand in hand with true freedom. And those which are found to be the most usually accepted or recommended are or would be aimed at giving full effect to freedom of expression and information.

Freedom of information has a double aspect. In the first place, it implies the liberty to issue and to disseminate ideas and news, without unjustified restriction. In the second place, it implies the right of every individual to be fully informed. The liberty to be informed is the necessary corollary of the liberty to supply information.

The invention of printing in the fifteenth century placed a formidable weapon in the hands of innovators and reformers, whose resources increased with the spread of pamphlets and later, periodicals. Today, great newspapers are more vulnerable than were the slim pamphlets of the past, and the policing of frontiers has everywhere become more effective. True democracy, however, can only exist where free availability of information and the freedom of the press are assured.

Courier

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HUMAN RIGHTS QUIZ

Many readers are probably well acquainted with the contents and the purposes of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but may be less familiar with the history of some of the victories in the fight for freedom whose results it embodies. Also, they may not have realized the extent of the Declaration's impact on international and national affairs. To enable them to test their knowledge we have chosen twenty questions on these subjects and provided three possible answers, one of which is correct. Readers will find the correct answers to these twenty problems on page 14 of this issue.

1 When was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted?

★

(a) 10 December 1948
(b) 8 May 1945
(c) 6 June 1944

2 Which body of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

★

(a) The Security Council
(b) The Economic and Social Council
(c) The General Assembly

3 Where was the Universal Declaration adopted?

★

(a) Lake Success
(b) Paris
(c) San Francisco

4 How many articles does the Declaration comprise?

★

(a) 100
(b) 30
(c) 45

5 How many governments voted against the adoption of the Declaration?

★

(a) 3
(b) 7
(c) None

6 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides for personal, civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. Which of the following rights had not been covered by previous declarations of rights?

★

(a) Political
(b) Cultural
(c) Personal

7 Which of the following statesmen proclaimed four fundamental freedoms before the adoption of the Universal Declaration?

★

(a) Franklin Roosevelt
(b) Winston Churchill
(c) Edouard Benes

8 Which new Asian State included in its first constitution voted in 1950, articles based on the Universal Declaration?

★

(a) India
(b) Indonesia
(c) Pakistan

9 How many countries have given women the right to vote since the creation of the United Nations?

★

(a) 4
(b) 37
(c) 22

10 Which of the three following British Commonwealth countries recommended the adoption of a national Bill of Rights based on the Universal Declaration?

★

(a) The Union of South Africa
(b) Canada
(c) India

11 In July 1950, Egypt passed a law in compliance with Article 26 of the Universal Declaration which provided for :

★

(a) Free and compulsory primary education
(b) Compulsory social insurance
(c) The right for women to vote.

12 Which of the following countries proclaimed through its Constituent Assembly the right for all citizens to freedom of speech and opinion?

★

(a) Guatemala
(b) Denmark
(c) India

13 Millions of men, women and children were driven from their homes during World War II, and became refugees. Which of the articles of the Universal Declaration makes provision for them?

★

(a) 21
(b) 14
(c) 12

14 The recognition of the personal rights of the worker is the result of a recent development in our civilization. Which of the following three countries first introduced compulsory insurance against accidents while at work?

★

(a) Belgium
(b) Germany
(c) France

15 Which of the following countries was the first to legally impose an eight-hour working day?

★

(a) The United States
(b) Italy
(c) Austria

16 Through an Act known as the Landslov, King Magnus of Norway, in 1257, granted his subjects certain rights which are today proclaimed in one of the following articles of the Universal Declaration:

★

(a) 12
(b) 7
(c) 21

17 Which country first made of freedom of conscience and religion a fundamental law?

★

(a) Brazil
(b) France
(c) The United States

18 Article 21 of the Universal Declaration provides that "every one has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through chosen representatives". Which country instituted, as far back as the 12th century, a parliament, as well as democratic laws and customs?

★

(a) Iceland
(b) China
(c) Great Britain

19 Works of art and scientific developments must be made available to all. This is why Article 27 of the Universal Declaration declares that "every one has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community..." Which was the first museum opened to the public?

★

(a) The Victoria and Albert Museum in London
(b) The Musée du Louvre in Paris
(c) The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam

20 Article 25 of the Universal Declaration grants all men the right to assistance in various forms. Who was the initiator of an important act of mutual assistance signed in Geneva in 1864?

★

(a) Stuart Mill
(b) Victor Schœlcher
(c) Henri Dunant

THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION

Delegates to the United Nations General Assembly met in the main hall of the Palais de Chaillot, Paris on the night of December 10, to vote the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. M. Emile St. Lot of Haiti, Rapporteur of the Third Committee, who presented the Declaration to the Assembly, described it as " the greatest effort of humanity to find new moral and juridical bases founded on liberty, equality and fraternity. "

ON 10 December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction".

It was approaching midnight when the vote was taken. The representatives of fifty-six Governments were seated in the main Assembly hall of the Palais de Chaillot in Paris. After two years of laborious study and discussion, after countless meetings of drafting groups, committees, and commissions, after seemingly endless hearings and debates, after hundreds of amendments and a thousand statements, a single final document had emerged bearing the symbol number A/777. It was the draft text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One after another the representatives rose to present the viewpoint of their governments on this proclamation of human rights. Although opinions varied as to its substance and form, the Declaration was adopted without a dissenting vote by the supreme organ of the international community (1).

One representative after another affirmed that what was being done was of immense historical significance, destined to have far-reaching effects on the lives of men and of nations. This was not only the viewpoint of individual representatives. It was the sense of the Assembly itself in formally resolving that "the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an historic act, destined to consolidate world peace through the contribution of the United Nations towards the liberation of individuals from the unjustified oppression and constraint to which they are too often subjected".

Within the short time since its proclamation the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has had a marked impact on the thought and action of individuals and organizations, on teaching and education, and on progressive measures, both national and international to promote a more effective recognition and observance of the rights and freedoms proclaimed therein. These are the developments the Secretary-General of the United Nations had in mind when he said in October 1950 that "it is becoming increasingly evident that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is destined to become one of the great documents of history".

(1) The Declaration was adopted by forty-eight votes in favour, none against and eight abstentions.

THE struggle for human rights has gone on from the beginning of recorded time. History has marked the efforts of the seers and prophets, the philosophers, the lawgivers, the statesmen and the martyrs in voicing demands for a larger freedom. But the nerve centre of the struggle for human rights is to be found in the people themselves, in the attempts of ordinary men and women to establish their claim to a decent, unmolested life in the face of despotism and bigotry, of ignorance and intolerance, of superstition and tyranny. Sometimes the struggle has been hard-fought and the casualties have been high. Sometimes it has surged forward on the irresistible tide of a free and responsible democracy.

The establishment of the United Nations was a high point in the age-long battle for human rights. For in its Charter the representatives of all the signatory States pledged their governments "to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

The rise of Fascism and Nazism had been a ruthless challenge to the advance in the democratic process which assured the individual of an ever-broadening field for the exercise of his rights as a free person. In Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and the countries brought under their domination, the individual was stripped of his civil rights, subjected to police tyranny and condemned to brutal oppression on grounds of race and religion. During the Second World War, a campaign of systematic extermination was directed against members of the Jewish community in Germany, a savage campaign for which human history can provide few parallels. Political freedom disappeared; the power of the State became absolute.

As the war progressed and war objectives began to form, the leaders of the Allied nations, reflecting the aroused conscience of their peoples, insisted that the foundations of peace must be built on a respect for human rights. President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed such an objective in his Four Freedoms message to Congress in 1941—"freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fear, everywhere in the world". The President's statement was matched by that of Winston Churchill, Britain's war-time Prime Minister, who promised that "when this struggle ends with the enthronement of human rights, racial persecution will be ended". A series of pronouncements—in the Atlantic Charter, 1941, in the United Nations Declaration of 1943, and at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 1944—gave expression to the aspirations of the Allied nations that in the postwar world the promotion and protection of human rights should be an accepted aim of national and international conduct.

The Charter not only affirmed faith in human rights—it required the United Nations to promote them. It imposed a legal obligation on all its Members to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations Organization for the achievement of this purpose. It established machinery to perform the functions of promoting human rights. The Charter of the United Nations, in fact, laid the foundations of a plan of human rights, conceived, drawn up and put into effect as a part of the most widespread attempt at international co-operation of all time. The first part of this plan, and so far the most important, was the drafting and adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Aroused Conscience of Mankind

IN the Charter, the Economic and Social Council was required to set up a commission for the promotion of human rights. This was done early in 1946. After its establishment the Commission on Human Rights began its monumental task of incorporating the aims and aspirations of the peoples of the world into an international bill of rights. It was the first time such a task had been contemplated or authorized by the organized world community. It was agreed that the bill of rights would consist of a universal declaration of human rights, a covenant on human rights and measures of implementation.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the opening words of its Preamble reflects the actual conditions from which it emerged. It speaks of the fact that "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world". It then goes on to recall how "disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind", and how "the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people". These passages —the last taken from the Atlantic Charter—provide the first reason for the unique authority of the Declaration : it was born out of a life and death struggle of the peoples of the world against tyranny and oppression. It represented the highest aspirations of the common people.

Rights Without Discrimination

BUT a second element contributed to its unique authority. Its application is universal. The rights proclaimed are rights to which everyone is entitled, "without distinction of any kind, such as race, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". This is a list of things that cannot or should not interfere with your rights. It is taken from Article 2 of the Universal Declaration. The Article prescribes full equality. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind. The list that follows enumerates the grounds or pretexts on the basis of which enjoyment of rights at one time or other, in some place or other, has been denied. It is not an exhaustive list. It merely enumerates the most frequent cases of discrimination.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights stands firmly against all types of discrimination and proclaims rights and freedoms for all. It may be noted that special reference is made to one very common type of discrimination—discrimination practised against groups of people who belong to a territory which is not fully autonomous. The Declaration states in Article 2 that "no discrimination shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether this territory be an independent, Trust, Non-Self-Governing Territory, or under any other limitation of sovereignty".

New Rights and Old

A THIRD feature of the Universal Declaration which adds to its intrinsic authority is the broad range of the rights and freedoms it proclaims. For the first time in history a comprehensive system of human rights is given international recognition. The Declaration not only incorporates the great victories of the past —victories in the field of free thought and opinion, victories which won for the common man the right to free assembly and association, to freedom from arbitrary arrest and the right to a fair trial. These great traditional rights had already been proclaimed in the historic declarations of human rights and were, of course, included in the Universal Declaration. But the Universal Declaration points beyond these traditional rights to the more recently defined and recognized social, cultural and economic rights—the right to work, the right to social security, to education, to health and an adequate standard of living, to full participation in the cultural life of the community.

Many national constitutions drawn up in this century offer guarantees of employment, unemployment insurance, old-age and sickness benefits, and free education. Moreover, in recent legislation in many countries, increasing stress has been laid on these guarantees. But the economic, cultural and social rights set forth in articles 22-27 of the Declaration have not yet been fully realized. The Declaration defines with clarity and with authority those rights which have, in a sense, been created by the very complexity and change of social and economic conditions of the twentieth century. It attempts to match newly recognized needs with norms of conduct arising out of the awakened social conscience of mankind. The articles in the Declaration setting forth these rights mark an evolution in social and juridical thinking and at the same time define a goal, "a standard of achievement", by which mankind may judge its progress.

There is a fourth reason for the unique authority of the Universal Declaration, and perhaps it is the most significant of all. At the time of the adoption of the Declaration, the President of the General Assembly, Herbert Vere Evatt of Australia, said:

"It is the first occasion on which the organized community of nations has made a declaration of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and it has the authority of the body of opinion of the United Nations as a whole, and millions of men, women and children all over the world, many miles from Paris and New York, will turn for help, guidance and inspiration to this document".

Herein lies the greatest significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: it is a Declaration, not of one person or group of persons, not of one nation or of one people, but of the organized community of nations and of all the peoples throughout the world.

The General Assembly in the opening paragraph of the Declaration itself set as the goal of this new international action "that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance".

Texts on this page were selected from "The Impact of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", published by the United Nations Department of Social Affairs.

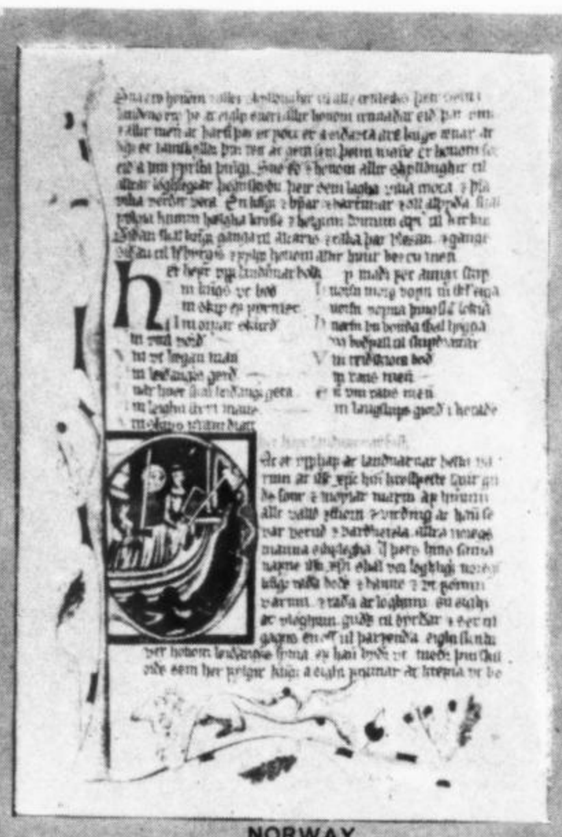
ANSWERS TO HUMAN RIGHTS QUIZ (See Page 13)

1 (a) 10 December 1948
2 (c) The General Assembly
3 (b) Paris
4 (b) Thirty
5 (c) None. Forty-eight countries voted for the adoption; Eight abstained
6 (b) Cultural rights, as well as social and economic rights.
7 (a) Franklin Roosevelt, who proclaimed:
Freedom of speech
Freedom of worship
Freedom from want
Freedom from fear
8 (b) Indonesia - The sixtieth and newest Member State of the United Nations.
9 (c) 22 countries
10 (b) Canada - The first draft has just been completed. It comprises 18 articles, of which 16 are articles of the Universal Declaration.
11 (a) Free and compulsory primary education
12 (c) India
13 (b) Article 14 which states that "everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution".
14 (c) France in 1898
15 (a) The United States in 1912.
16 (b) Article 7 which states "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law".
17 (c) The United States. Under its constitution public offices can be filled by persons of all creeds.
18 (a) Iceland - whose Parliament, the Althing, is regarded as the oldest in existence.
19 (b) The Musée du Louvre in Paris, which became the "Museum de la Republique in 1793".
20 (c) Henri Dunant, thanks to whom was adopted the Geneva Convention, which gives war wounded a legal status recognized by all belligerents and which resulted in the setting up in various countries of Red Cross Societies. These are designed to aid the wounded (even on the battlefield) and to provide combined assistance in the event of calamities (floods, epidemics or earthquakes) whenever local or national resources are inadequate.

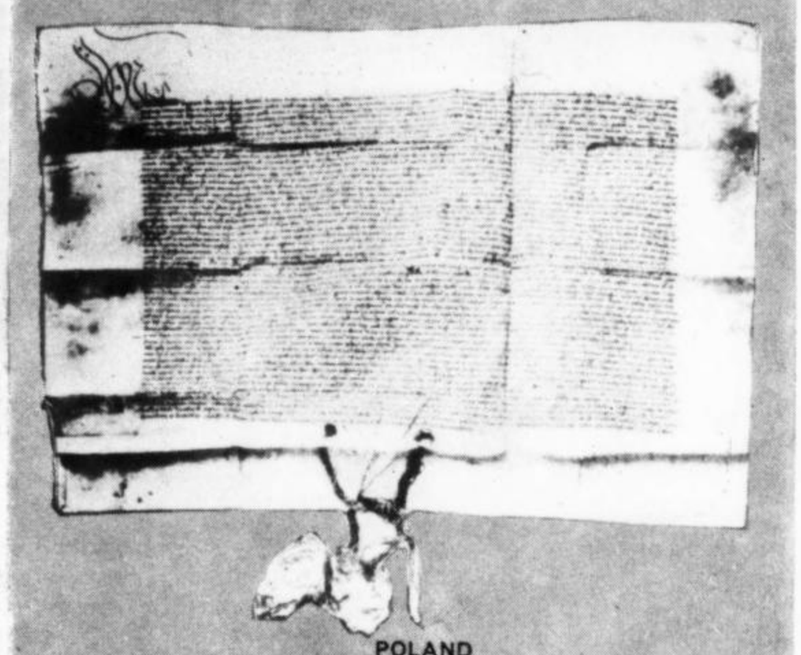
DOCUMENTS OF FREEDOM

Behind the origin of the human rights affirmed in the Universal Declaration, is every country's story of the long struggle by its people for various kinds of freedom. These stories vary from country to country, but for centuries people everywhere have fought for what they considered their inalienable rights. Their victories are commemorated in such documents as the Magna Carta, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the Declaration of Independence, and, in our own time, the Charter of the United Nations. On this page we publish photographs of some of these "Documents of Freedom", each of which has contributed its share to the principles proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of 1948.

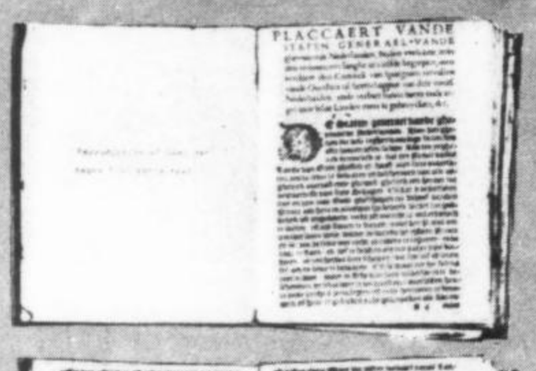
GREAT BRITAIN
MAGNA CARTA - 1215.
One of the earliest documents of man's struggle for freedom and human rights, the Magna Carta or Great Charter was signed by King John at Runnymede on June 15, 1215. It was, in effect, a treaty between the English people and their government, and formed the basis for those political and personal freedoms which are now part of the English tradition.



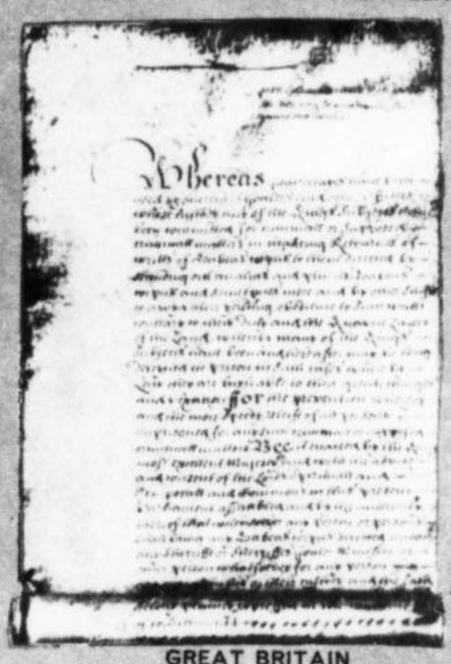
NORWAY
MAGNUS LAGABOTERS LANDSLOV - 1275.
The Landslov was drawn up by King Magnus. In one section, the King agrees to admit all people to the privilege of law and justice on an equal basis.



POLAND
NEMINEM CAPTIVABIMUS ACT - 1430.
The Neminem Captivabimus Act - that no man may be imprisoned without trial. In the fifteenth century when Poland passed this act she was one of the leading countries in liberal ideas in Europe.

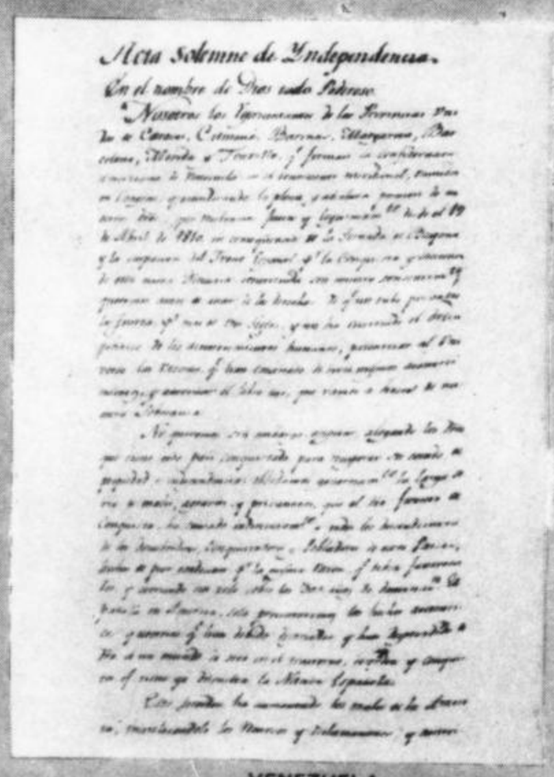


THE NETHERLANDS
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE-1581.
After joining forces in 1579, the seven Protestant provinces of the Netherlands wrested religious liberty from their Spanish rulers, and finally declared themselves independent in 1581.

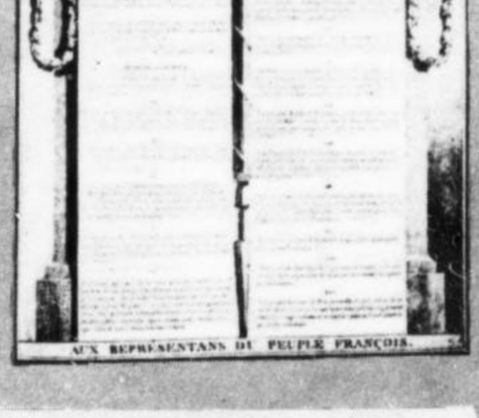


GREAT BRITAIN
HABEAS CORPUS ACT - 1679.
The Habeas Corpus Act was to prevent individuals from being taken and held in custody without just cause and fair trial.

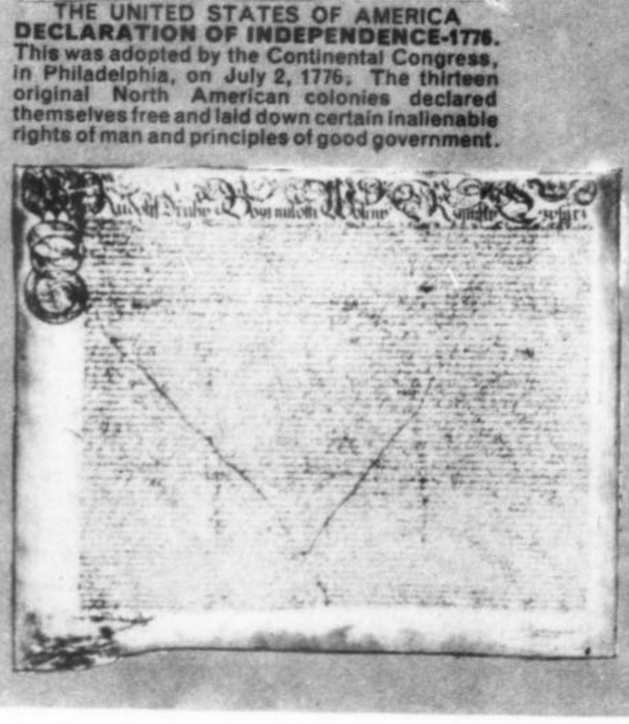
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE-1776.
This was adopted by the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia, on July 2, 1776. The thirteen original North American colonies declared themselves free and laid down certain inalienable rights of man and principles of good government.



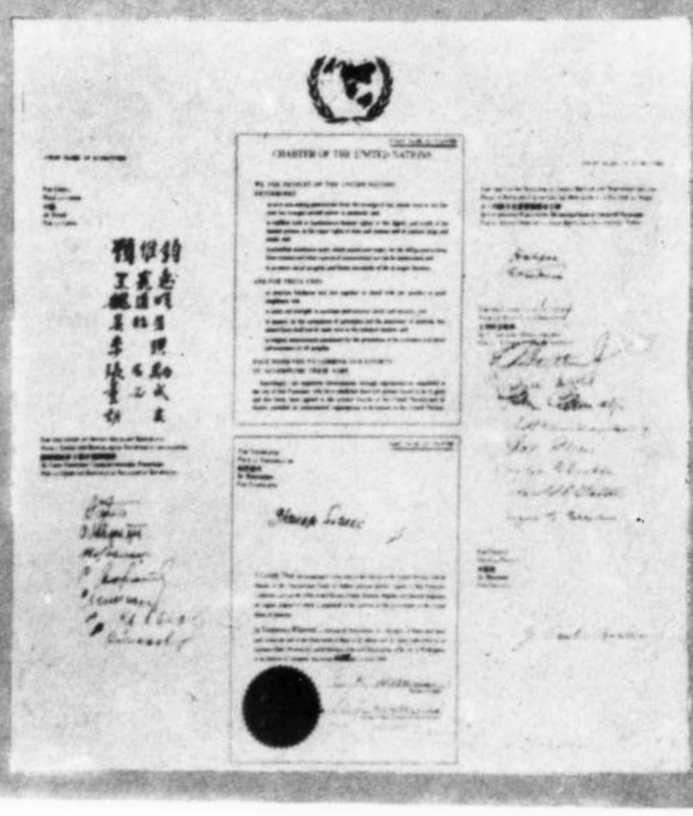
VENEZUELA
ACT OF INDEPENDENCE - 1811.
Signed by the representatives of the united provinces of Venezuela, the Act of Independence was the first of those which ended Spanish rule in Latin America.



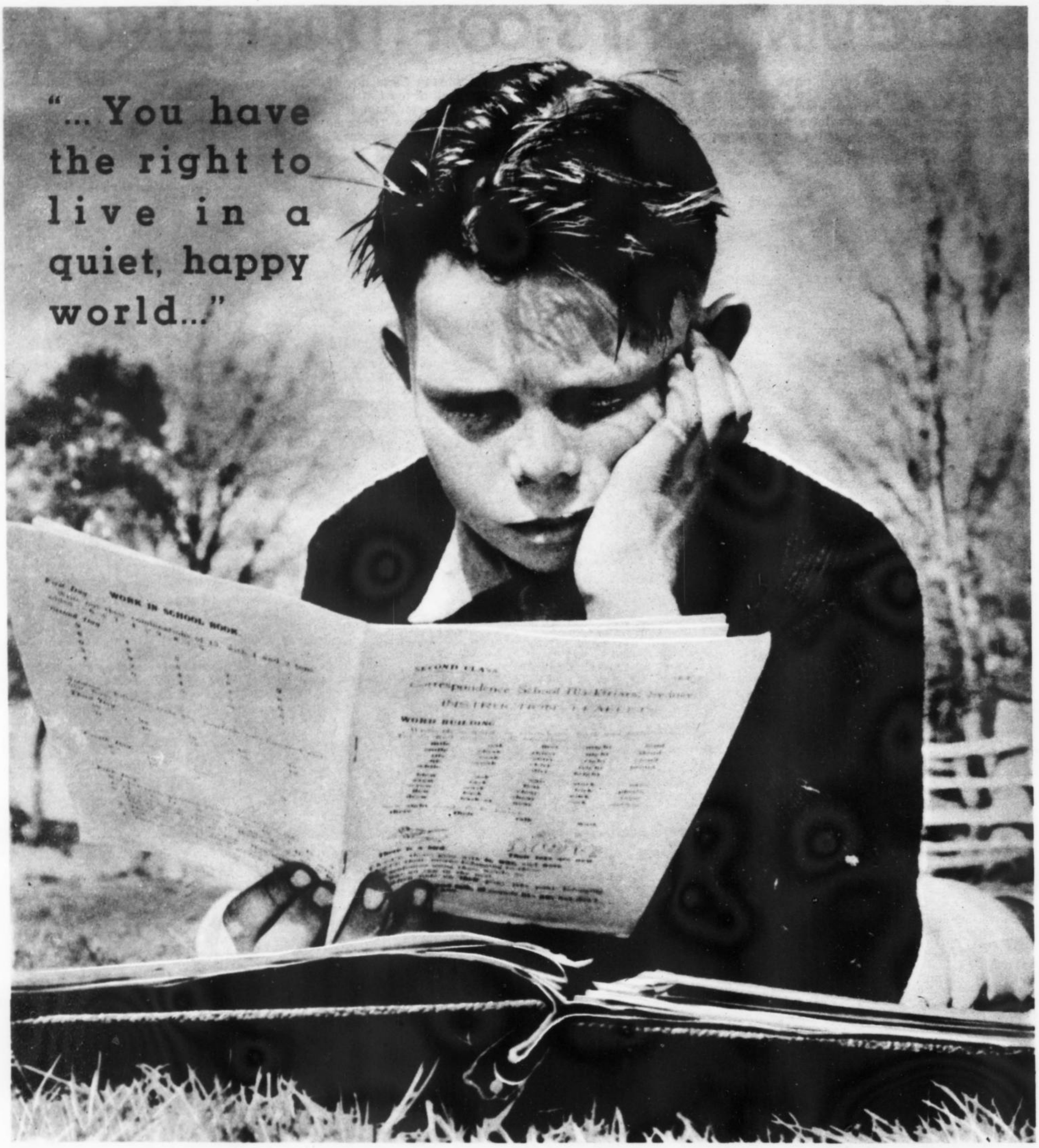
FRANCE
THE RIGHTS OF MAN - 1789.
No document has been a greater source of inspiration to those fighting for freedom in all parts of the world than the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This statement of the fundamental rights of free man was adopted by the French National Assembly in August 1789, the first year of the French Revolution.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA
RUDOLF II - Proclamation of Religious Liberty 1609.
Facsimile of the document by which Emperor Rudolf II, King of Bohemia, granted religious freedom and equality to all his people regardless of creed.



UNITED NATIONS
CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS - 1945
Reproduction of the opening page, giving the text of the preamble, the first five signatures, the last page and the certificate appended to the copies of the Charter of the United Nations.



Knowledge and understanding of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and their practical application must begin during childhood. Efforts to make known the rights and duties they imply will never be fully effective unless schools in all countries make teaching about the Declaration a regular part of the curriculum. One of the countries where such action has been taken is the Republic of the Philippines whose Education Department has prepared a simplified version of the Articles of the Declaration, for use in schools. This children's version, which we publish below, is written in easily understood terms and shows the place of the rights in every-day life.

ARTICLE 1. — In this world, all persons are like brothers and sisters in a family; so you should be kind, friendly and polite to others.

ARTICLE 2. — Your rights have nothing to do with your riches, family, religion, sex, colour or political beliefs.

ARTICLE 3. — You have the right to be alive and to stay alive.

ARTICLE 4. — No one can make you a slave.

ARTICLE 5. — You cannot be hurt or punished in any shameful way.

ARTICLE 6. — Your rights as a person must be respected everywhere you go.

ARTICLE 7. — You have the same rights as any other person has in the eyes of the law.

ARTICLE 8. — If anyone takes away any of your rights, you can go and ask the court to get it back for you.

ARTICLE 9. — You cannot be arrested, put in prison, be sent away from your town or country if you have not done anything against the law.

ARTICLE 10. — If you are blamed for having done something against the law, you can get a fair public trial in a fair court.

ARTICLE 11. — You must be considered not guilty until you are found really at fault. You cannot be punished for an act that was not against the law when you did it. Nor can you be given a punishment heavier than that allowed by law when you did the act.

ARTICLE 12. — No one, without good reasons allowed by law, can open or read your mail, or enter your home without your permission.

ARTICLE 13. — You are free to come and go in your country, to leave your country, and to return.

ARTICLE 14. — If you do not feel safe or are treated badly in your country you are free to go and live in another country. You can do this if you have not done something wrong.

ARTICLE 15. — You have the right to belong to a nation. No one can take this right away from you or stop you from becoming a citizen of another nation if you want to do this.

ARTICLE 16. — Men and women, when of age, can marry anyone they choose and have a family. No one can be made to marry against his wish.

ARTICLE 17. — You can own property by yourself or with others. Your property cannot be taken away from you against your wish. It may be taken away from you if the Government needs it for the use of all the people.

ARTICLE 18. — You are free to think, to choose your own religion or to change it, and to tell what you think of it.

ARTICLE 19. — You may say or write anything you want, and give and receive ideas in any way.

ARTICLE 20. — You have the right to have meetings with others and to form a society so long as you do not make trouble. But no one can make you go to the meetings of any society or become a member if you do not want to.

ARTICLE 21. — You have the right to vote and hold office and to share in all the good things your Government does for the people. The wishes of the people shall be respected by the Government.

ARTICLE 22. — You have the right to live with honour and to enjoy the good things given to protect the people from hunger and sickness.

ARTICLE 23. — You may look for any kind of work you can do. You have the right to good pay, to equal pay for equal work, to good working conditions, to protection from being "laid off". You can form or join a trade union.

ARTICLE 24. — You have the right to rest, to have fair working hours, and every now and then to enjoy holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25. — You have the right to have good food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and pension when you are sick or too old to work. Mothers and children should be given equal protection and special care.

ARTICLE 26. — You have the right to study in free elementary schools and to continue studying in higher schools if you can do the work.

ARTICLE 27. — You may share in the enjoyment of the arts and sciences. You may receive any gain from your writings and from any work that you have done in the arts and sciences.

ARTICLE 28. — You have the right to live in a quiet, happy world where all these rights can be had.

ARTICLE 29. — You must do your own duty to society, but in doing so, be sure you do not step on the rights of others.

ARTICLE 30. — No one, whether a person or a nation, has the right to destroy any of the rights listed in this Declaration.